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Abstract

This study focused on the process by which stated organizational goals of a State Department of Education were transformed into the organization's real goals. The purpose of the study was to identify and examine (1) the mechanisms operating in the organization which aided this transformation, (2) the organization's real goal, and (3) the effects of goal transformation on the organization. Data for the study were gathered from 52 interviews, personal data, and unobtrusive measures such as office records, travel records, and budgets. Analysis of data determined a group of 16 mechanisms which revealed the dynamics of the organization. The mechanisms, grouped according to common elements, determined the concepts of leadership, bureaucracy, accountability, and communication. The concepts combined with the mechanisms constituted the conceptual syndrome or the process involved in transforming stated goals to real goals in a State Department of Education. (Author/MF)

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE GOAL TRANSFORMATION PROCESS IN A STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

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Morgantown, West Virginia

June 1969

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
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Office of Education
Bureau of Research

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PREFACE

This study focuses on the goal transformation process in a State Department of Education. In this report, the State Department of Education under investigation is referred to as the State Department to maintain anonymity, and the State in which the study was undertaken is designated as State.

In order to assist the reader in his understanding of this study, a biographical sketch relative to the investigator's professional background is herewith presented. The study of goal transformation was undertaken by Henry R. Marockie who was born in Powhatan, Ohio. His elementary and secondary education was in the Brooke County, West Virginia school system. He attended the University of Maryland and received a Bachelor of Science Degree in Business Administration from West Liberty State College in 1961. A Master's of Arts Degree in Guidance was conferred at West Virginia University in 1963.

During the year 1963-64, he had a position as guidance counselor and teacher at Mannington High School in the Marion County, West Virginia school system. In 1964 he became a county administrator in charge of Guidance Services in Wood County, West Virginia, and later administrated the Federal programs for the same system.

In 1967 he began two years in residence at West Virginia

University pursuing a doctorate in Educational Administration. At this time, he held an assistantship in the Office of Field Services and later was a special assistant to the Dean of the College of Human Resources and Education. Concurrent with these responsibilities, he served as an intern in the West Virginia Legislature assigned as special consultant to the House Education Committee. He is presently a candidate for the Degree of Doctor of Education.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

During the past decade, social scientists interested in human behavior in formal organizations have concentrated their research efforts on determining organizational effectiveness. Of primary importance in their objective was the determination of the relationship between individual and organizational goals[1] since the concept of organizational effectiveness is generally used to refer to goal-attainment.[2]

Specifically, the literature on organizational analysis focuses on the process by which stated organizational goals are transformed into the real goals of the organization. This transformation process is not revealed by simply describing the organization. As Selznick suggests, the researcher must look for certain defining characteristics and commitments of the organization.[3] Social organizations are identified by their latent commitments which may not necessarily be the same as what is formally acknowledged.[4] Thus, the latent structures or the revealing symptoms must be looked to for the true purpose of the organization and the process by which the organization's stated goals are transformed into its real goals.[5]

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[1] Albert H. Rubenstein and Chadwick Haberstrob, Some Theories of Organizations (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin and the Dorsey Press, 1966), Chapter 23.

[2] Basil S. Georgopoulos and Arnold S. Tannenbaum, "A Study of Organizational Effectiveness", American Sociological Review, 22, 1957, pp. 534-540.

[3] Philip Selznick, The Organizational Weapon (Illinois: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), p. XI.

Determining and analyzing these symptoms must be based on systematic and theoretical approaches. Etzioni's theory describes three dimensions - displacement, succession, and proliferation - through which stated goals of an organization are transformed into the organization's real goals.

Goal displacement arises when an organization substitutes for its legitimate goal some other goal for which it was not created, or for which resources were not allocated, or for which it is not known to serve.[6] The most common form of displacement of goals, as advocated by Etzioni, is the process by which the organization reverses the priority between its goals and means in such a way that the means are made the goals and the goals are converted to means.[7]

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[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 10.

[7] Ibid.

Goal succession comes about when an organization finds new goals when the old ones have been realized or cannot be attained. The organization, consequently, establishes new goals rather than disband.[8] However, clear-cut cases of goal succession are rare, primarily because most organizations do not reach their goals and secondly, because many of those who do achieve their goals are then dissolved.[9] Succession of goals is much more common when service of the old goal is unsuccessfully forcing the organization to adopt additional goals or expand the scope of their old ones. By doing so, the organization acts to increase the dedication of its members and encourage the recruitment of new members.[10]

Goal proliferation, for Etzioni, leads not only to displacement of its primary goals by other secondary goals or by means, but also leads the organization to actively seek new goals once the old ones are realized, or to acquire additional goals. The new goals are often justified by the fact that they will enhance the service of the old goals; however, they often become full-fledged equals if not "masters."[11]

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[8] Ibid., p. 13.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

Other investigators have corroborated Etzioni's position on the goal transformation process, but with the utilization of other terms.

Selznick has reported that in every organization, the goals of the organization are modified (abandoned, deflected, or elaborated) by a process within it, and that the process of modification is effected through the informal structure of the organization.[12]

Blau refers to the process of "succession of goals." He states:

> As an organization attains its objectives, it generates strain toward finding new ones. To provide incentives for its members and to justify its existence, the organization must adopt new goals as its old ones are achieved.[13]

Merton speaks of displacement of goals as existing when an "instrumental value becomes a terminal value" and that such is seen frequently in bureaucracies.[14]

In a study of the goals of complex organizations, Perrow has found that the goals most embedded in major operating policies and the daily decisions of personnel are more nearly related to understanding organizational behavior.[15] Perrow called such goals the operative goals and stated that through the actual operating policies of the organization, these goals reveal what the organization actually is trying to do regardless of what the official goals are professed to be.[16]

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[12] Philip Selznick, "An Approach to a Theory of Bureaucracy," American Sociological Review, 8:47, 1943.

[13] Peter Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 243.

[14] Peter Blau and Richard Scott, Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962), p. 229.

Kornhauser used the term "pluralism" to denote goal transformation in industry. He found that professionals were forced to compromise their personal goals with the profit oriented goals of the industry.[17]

The concept of goal transformation, specifically the dimensions identified by Etzioni, constitute, in this study, a framework for identification of a conceptual syndrome by which the goal transformation process in an organization can be appraised.

Since most of the reported studies have been conducted in organizations where relatively little change was taking place, organizations such as state departments of education undergoing adoption of technological innovations have rarely been examined.[18] State departments of education are finding themselves today being forced to reorganize if they are to meet the challenge of educating children for society. However, Lane asserts:

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[15] Charles Perrow, "The Analysis of Goals in Complex Organizations," American Sociological Review, 26:854-66, December, 1961.

[16] Ibid.

[17] William Kornhauser, Scientists in Industry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962).

> Unfortunately, the relative status of the department of education in state government has not been subject to the study necessary to effect significant advances and improvement in state education agencies.[19]

Much of the responsibility for the organization and operation of schools has been assumed by local school systems. Consequently, students of administration have become accustomed to appraising the strengths and weaknesses of local schools rather than considering the relationship of the state department to the local schools in carrying out the educational program.[20] The lack of this relationship was expressed by the Congress with the enactment of Title V of ESEA whose purpose was to strengthen state departments of education. Prior to enactment, evidence gathered from chief state school officers indicated that state departments of education varied widely in their ability to deal with the rapid changes taking place in education. In 1966 the first report by the

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[18] Rubenstein, *op. cit.*

[19] Willard Lane, *et al.*, *Foundations of Educational Administration: A Behavioral Analysis* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1967), p. 164.

[20] Edgar Morphet, *et al.*, *Educational Organization and Administration* (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 233.

Advisory Council of State Departments of Education noted the following:

> 1. Some state agencies are plagued with inadequate or antiquated structure and organization.
>
> 2. Others are operating without benefit of fully developed research and data systems, or without adequate provisions for statewide study, evaluation, and planning.
>
> 3. All are lacking - to a greater or lesser degree - appropriately prepared and experienced personnel in numbers sufficient to achieve and sustain desired levels of leadership and service.[21]

Therefore, this study, utilizing the goal dimensions identified by Etzioni, is an attempt to ascertain a set of related concepts which should be useful in explaining the process by which stated organizational goals of a State Department of Education become transformed into the organization's real goals.

Statement of Problem. The purpose of the study is to identify and examine the conceptual syndrome which will permit assessment of the three goal dimensions by which the stated goals of a State Department of Education are transformed into the real organizational goals and to assess the consequences of this process in terms of the organization's operations.

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[21] The Third Annual Report of the Advisory Council on State Departments of Education, Focus On the Future: Education in the States (U.S. Department of HEW/U.S. Office of Education, No. OE. 23050-68. Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968), p. 1.

Objectives. Specifically, this study will seek to determine the following:

1. The mechanisms operating in the organization which establish a conceptual syndrome.
2. The organization's real goals.
3. The consequences in the organization resulting from goal transformation.

Importance of Study. One of the most controversial and often discussed educational issues of today is whether or not the Federal Government should continue to appropriate categorical grant-in-aid programs for the improvement of elementary and secondary education or whether a block-grant or general-aid pattern should be followed. Under the latter approach, federal funds would be given to states with minimal or no requirements with the states being able to spend the money "across the board" for improving education. This approach is now being advocated by President Nixon and is staunchly supported by Edith Green, congresswoman from Oregon. If the block-grant approach is followed, the state departments of education will assume a very significant role in the administration of such grants, for it will be they who will have to establish the quantitative and qualitative patterns through which the federal funds will be expended.[22] Obviously, state departments must have the personnel and the structure necessary for handling such sums of money. The departments must change their role of regulatory, statistical-gathering agencies to one of leadership, planning, and assessment. They must develop a new and improved framework for the structure and organization of education within a state. As Johns asserts:

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[22] Educational Policies Commission, Federal Financial Relationships to Education (Washington: NEA, 1967), pp. 1-9.

> The major functions of state departments of education in the future will be to provide both professional and political leadership for the inauguration and implementation of educational policies and programs. They must provide a linkage between local school systems and the Federal Government if local initiative in education is preserved. If the state departments of education do not provide adequate leadership, the focus of decision making will shift from local school districts and the states to the federal government.[23]

Unfortunately, the image of state departments throughout the country is tarnished. A recent study by Goldhammer found that state departments of education are perceived by superintendents as follows:

> For the most part, superintendents in one sample perceive state departments of education as primarily regulatory, rurally-oriented, politically dominated,

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[23] R. L. Johns, "State Organization and Responsibilities for Education," Implications for Education of Prospective Changes in Society, Edgar L. Morphet and Charles Ryan (eds.), (Reports prepared for the Second Area Conference, Designing Education for the Future: An Eight-State Project, Denver: Bradford-Robinson Printing Company, 1967), pp. 266-267.

unreliable, and ineffective.[24]

The importance of changing this image is obvious if state departments are to fulfill their new role in education. There is, however, a dearth of research on state departments which would aid administrators to bring about the necessary changes in order to accomplish their objectives. Because of this lack of study, much of the literature pertaining to the organization of state departments is based on opinion; and although expert opinion is necessary, the fact remains that research on the subject is very limited.

This study has attempted to provide research based upon a theoretical framework. It is hoped that the conceptual syndrome emanating from the study will identify crucial areas in need of change and modification.

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[24] Keith Goldhammer, *et al.*, *Issues and Problems in Contemporary Educational Administration* (The Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 1967), p. 87.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Planning and implementing a pilot study on organization goal displacement in a local school system was instrumental in conceptualization of the problem contained herein. Thereupon, due to the design and setting of this investigation, a meeting was held with the State Superintendent of Public Instruction and various members of his advisory staff to gain permission for conducting the study in the State Department of Education.[1]

Population and Sample. There exists four separate bureaus within the State Department of Education. A total of 101 professional personnel is employed of which 89 percent is considered operative personnel for this study. Data relative to State Department personnel are shown in Table I.

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[1] In this study, the State Department of Education under investigation is not identified by name but is referred to as the State Department. The State housing the Department is referred to as State.

TABLE I

STATE DEPARTMENT OPERATIVE PERSONNEL*

Name of Bureau	Number of Operative Personnel	Person in Charge
Administration	7	Ass't Superintendent
Instruction	31	Ass't Superintendent
Services and Federal Programs	24	Ass't Superintendent
Vocational and Technical	27	Ass't Superintendent
Total	89	

*Operative personnel refers to those people who actually carry out the day-to-day operations of the Department and according to the organization chart (see Appendix A) are placed below the level of Assistant Superintendent.

All levels of Department personnel, as well as selected members of the legislature, State Board of Education, and State Education Association were interviewed. The study focused primarily on the operating personnel of the organization rather than on the superiors. Personnel receiving primary attention in this study were those holding titles of assistant superintendent, directors, supervisor, coordinators, and program specialists. This approach to the study of organization appears to be representative of Herbert Simon who states:

> In a study of organization, the operative employee must be the focus of attention for the success of the structure will be judged by his performance within it. Insight into the

> structure and function of an organization can be best gained by analyzing the manner in which the decisions and behavior of such employees are influenced within and by the organization.[2]

Even though this study focused on personnel below the bureau heads, it must be noted that to understand the State Department of Education, one must have knowledge about personnel at all levels of the organizational chart. As Simon points out:

> It is equally clear that the persons above the lowest or operative level in the administrative hierarchy are not mere surplus baggage...Even though, as far as physical cause and effect are concerned, it is the machine gunner and not the major who fights the battles, the major is likely to have a greater influence upon the outcome of a battle than any single machine gunner.[3]

Interview. An open-ended interview guide with an organized list of 43 standard questions was asked each respondent. In addition to the standard topic question, the researcher used probing questions to provide further clarification and insure accurate information. An example will illustrate the technique:

> Question: Can you describe a problem which confronts you as a member of the State Department of Education?
>
> Response: Secretary turnover.
>
> Probe: Can you tell me more about it?

---

[2] Herbert Simon, Administrative Behavior (New York: MacMillan Co., 1945), p. 3.

[3] Ibid., p. 2.

Response: The pay scale for secretaries in the Department is such that they are paid according to position rather than on the basis of training and experience.

Probe: Why is this a problem?

Response: It causes secretaries to constantly try to get a position above that of working for specialists.

Question: Can you describe the effect it is having on your work performance?

Response: It causes me to spend much of my time training a new girl rather than spending the time on programs.

Question: What can be done to overcome the problem?

Response: If the administration would reorganize the secretary pay scale so that all secretaries were paid on the basis of experience and training, we wouldn't have the problem. The girls like working for specialists but because of the lower salary look for other positions in the Department.

When no further insights could be gained from the questioning, the investigator asked the next question. Replies to the questions were recorded on the guide during the time of the interview. Following termination of each interview, the investigator would immediately summarize the information obtained and record other pertinent observations. This method according to Travers is the combined process of selecting, summarizing, and interpreting information and is termed the coding process.[4]

---

[4] Robert W. Travers, An Introduction to Educational Research, 2nd Ed. (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1964), p. 234.

The method precludes the use of the tape recorder, for as Travers asserts, "....if the interviewee knows his words are to be recorded, this fact will exercise some influence on what is said.[5] He suggests that the major difficulty involved in the use of complete records of an interview is the voluminousness of the material involved and that for this reason, this procedure is not widely used in research.[6] He finally asserts that most research workers prefer to record certain limited observations during the interview frequently coding them at the same time.[7]

Bias Prevention. It must be recognized that in a study of this type in which an open-ended free response interview is used, a part of the conversation is irrelevant to the topic at hand. Webb refers to this proportion of information as the "Dross Rate."[8] Although such information may take up considerable time in an interview, the advantages to using the interview as the primary data-collecting tool in this study are aptly cited by Borg:

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[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid., pp. 234-235.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Eugene Webb, et al., Unobtrusive Measures: Non-Reactive Research in Social Science (Chicago: Rand McNally Co., 1966), p. 33.

1. Permits greater depth.
2. Permits follow-up leads in order to obtain more complete data.
3. Makes it possible to establish and maintain rapport with the respondent or at least determine when rapport has not been established.
4. Provides a means of checking and assuring the effectiveness of communication between the respondent and the interviewer.[9]

The following classes of error described by Webb are important to recognize before undertaking such an investigation. A brief explanation of each is as follows:[10]

1. Guinea Pig Effect - This is defined as awareness of being tested. If people feel they are being used as guinea pigs in an experiment or if they feel they are bound to make a good impression, the results of the study may be distorted. These effects have been referred to by various authors as the "reactive effect of measurement" and "reactive arrangement." There is a clear link between awareness of being tested and the biases associated with tendency to answer with socially desirable responses.

2. Role Selection - When a person is singled out for testing

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[9] Walter Borg, Educational Research (New York: McCoy, Inc., 1965), p. 221.

[10] Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 12-21.

(assuming that being tested is not a normal condition), the person is forced into a role-defining question. "What kind of person should I be as I answer these questions or do these tasks?" Even though precautions were taken, it must be recognized that the "special person" set of instructions may increase participation in the project and also increase the risk of reactive bias.

3. Measurement as Change Agent - With all the care and candor possible by the respondent and with carefully attempting to be completely neutral in the interview, there can still be an important class of reactive effects - those in which the initial measurement activity introduces real changes in what is being measured. Webb indicates that early research in psychology in the transfer of training encountered such change effect in the pretest that it accounted for the gains made in the posttest. This effect consequently led to the introduction of control groups in future such studies.

4. Response Sets - It has been shown that respondents will more frequently agree with a statement than agree with its opposite. Although such evidence has been gained largely through the use of pencil-and-paper questionnaires, it is asserted by Webb that such response bias can also occur for unobtrusive records as well. An example of a traffic study illustrates the point. A non-reactive measure of attractiveness of paintings in an art museum might be studied by employing an erosion

method such as the relative degree of carpet or floor tile wear in front of each painting. Or the investigator may employ more elaborate techniques such as a photoelectric timer and counter. Regardless of what non-reactive technique the investigator employs, he must also take into account the irrelevant habits which have been shown to affect traffic flow. There is, for example, a general tendency for people to turn right upon entering a building which, in turn, raises the question that this might be true because there are more right-handed people than there are left-handed. Webb elaborates more in that the placement of the exit doors in museums will tend to regulate traffic which could confuse any erosin measure unless controlled.

There is little doubt that a substantial number of biases are possible in this type of research and, obviously, considerable risk is involved; but if the use of personal interviews, unobtrusive measures, etc., opens the way for error, it remains, however, the only way in which this type of research can be carried on.[11] Webb states so aptly:

> If we heeded all the known biases, without considering our ignorance of major interactions, there could no longer be a simple survey.[12]

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[11] Philip Selznick, TVA and the Grass Roots (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), p. 250.

[12] Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

This researcher was extremely careful that questions in the interview guide were void of value-laden terms which might elicit emotional rather than academic responses. The questions were phrased such that they would not project any investigator bias or give a preconceived notion of what was expected in the response. The following example illustrates the caution taken by the investigator in an effort to control investigator bias during the interviews. A question phrased: "As you listened to Mr. Walter's speech, did you get the feeling it was propagandistic?" would reflect the values of the interviewer and thus would lead the respondent in answering the question. This would result, in all probability, in a biased response. However, by phrasing the question, "What was your opinion of Mr. Walter's speech?", the respondent can then reply with a more accurate reflection of his opinion.

Using the interview as the primary data-collecting tool in this study enabled the investigator to interlock various research techniques in order to justify his findings. Analyzing records to confirm information obtained in an interview also permitted the presentation of a more accurate picture of the organization.[13] The investigator did not restrict his data to that which was publicly acknowledged, but employed such means as checking verbal statements against the documentary record, appraising the consistency of information supplied to him, and, above all, avoiding reliance on any single source.[14]

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[13] Peter Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy (Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 5.

Though information obtained through the interviews was a primary source of data collection, other unobtrusive[15] sources of information were examined; such as, office memorandums, assignment of personnel, financial report-allocations, travel records, memorandums to schools, handbooks and manuals, official board minutes, conference minutes, departmental history, organizational charts, statutes and bills, and other studies.

Webb refers to these types of data as physical evidence and points to one outstanding advantage of it; that is, its inconspicuousness.[16] As he states, "The stuff of analysis is material which is generated without the producer's knowledge of its use by the investigator."[17] He concludes that physical data is, for the most part, free of reactive measurement effects. He notes that he and his colleagues were unable to find much research using physical evidence as supplementary data and that for most psychological and sociological research, physical data is off the main track, which in his view is regrettable. He strongly proclaims:

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[14] Selznick, loc. cit.

[15] Webb, loc. cit.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

> The more visible weakness of physical evidence should preclude its use no more than should the less visible, but equally real, weaknesses of other methods. If physical evidence is used in consort with more traditional approaches, the population and content restrictions can be controlled, providing a novel and fruitful avoidance of errors that come from reactivity.[18]

In this study, physical data refer to the supplementary data, the unobtrusive measures which are used to support the findings of the interviews. An example will illustrate the use of unobtrusive data. Page 13 illustrates the technique of interviewing in this study. In order to obtain unobtrusive data to support those interview data, examination of the Board of Education minutes was undertaken, since employment, transfer, and resignation of secretaries is done through Board action. Board minutes of the past year were investigated. Data collected were categorized into three different areas: (1) employed, (2) transferred, (3) resignation. Results revealed a total of 71 secretarial changes made in the Department during the past 12 months, an average of almost six per month, which supports data collected during the interview.

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[18] _Ibid._

Pilot Study. Following the completion of twelve interviews, the investigator analyzed the data for the purpose of ascertaining a preliminary syndrome and a possible reorganization of the interview guide. The data revealed a necessity to explore six areas not included in the original guide and also enabled the investigator to delete some questions which were not relevant to the study. Upon reorganizing the guide, the investigator then conducted interviews with the remaining forty Department personnel members. Those involved in the pilot study were sampled and reinterviewed in order to determine if time would affect responses to the new questions. As will be indicated in the report, there was a change in responses to one of the questions. (See mechanism pertaining to CEP.)

DATA TREATMENT

Within a period of four calendar months, the investigator spent a total of forty-three days in the State Department of Education. During this time, fifty-two people were interviewed lasting an average of 2.2 hours, with the shortest lasting forty-five minutes and the longest three hours and twenty-five minutes. The goal of attaining insights into the organization was paramount. Therefore, being concerned with asking each respondent every question on the interview guide was not primary. When a respondent had little to contribute, the interview was shortened; but when insights were being obtained, interview time was lengthened due to the probing necessary to exhaust the area. When initial awareness indicated no new insights were being obtained from interviews, the investigator attempted to validate this assumption by interviewing nine additional persons representing all levels throughout the Department. Upon verification that no more insights were being obtained, the investigator made the decision to discontinue interviewing. The number of interviews, thus, was determined by the quality and types of information obtained, rather than by the number of personnel employed in the State Department. Support for this approach is given by Clark in his study of a junior college in California.[19] In his study, Clark speaks of the comprehensiveness of his interviews with administrators and the arbitrary number involved in the interviewing. He does not speak of a particular number as being necessary for such a study. Since this study was undertaken to identify the conceptual syndrome which assesses the goal transformation process in the State Department of Education, interviewing continued only to the point that the data produced insights from which the syndrome could be determined. As Selznick has stated:

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[19] Burton Clark, The Open Door College: A Case Study (New York: McGraw Hill Co., 1960), pp. 179-80.

> Those who are familiar with the shadowland of maneuver in large organizations will appreciate the difficulties, and the extent to which the ultimate reliability depends upon the ability of the investigator to make the necessary discriminations. They will also recognize the need for insight and imagination if the significance of behavior, as it responds to structural constraints, is to be grasped.[20]

Although individuals were interviewed, primary emphasis during the study was upon the organization. The role of the individual, the behavior of small groups, and minor structures should be studied only as they are shown to influence or reflect the general organizational character.[21]

From the interview guides, the information, statement by statement, of the respondents, was categorized into topics. Upon completion of this task, the topics were grouped into related areas which summatively resulted in a major concept of the syndrome.

A theoretical case has been built which shows that stated goals of an organization are transformed into real organizational goals through three processes (displacement, succession, proliferation). Thus, the treatment of data in this study was to identify the conceptual syndrome which explains the process or processes in the State Department. Through the use of an interview guide, personal data, and unobstrusive measures, the investigator gathered data which determined the real organizational goal and the mechanisms which inductively revealed the conceptual syndrome to analyze the processes.

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[20] Selznick, op. cit., pp. 249-250.

[21] Clark, op. cit., p. X.

An extensive effort was made to determine quantitative measures which could apply to the treatment of data in this study. However, due to the nature of the study, no statistical treatment was found which could be effectively utilized.

A schematic drawing of the original model used to identify the conceptual syndrome is presented in Figure 1. An explanation will give a more lucid picture of the graphic diagram:

1. Data for this study were gathered through use of the interview, personal data, and unobstrusive measures.

2. Analyses of all data determined the mechanisms operating in the organization.

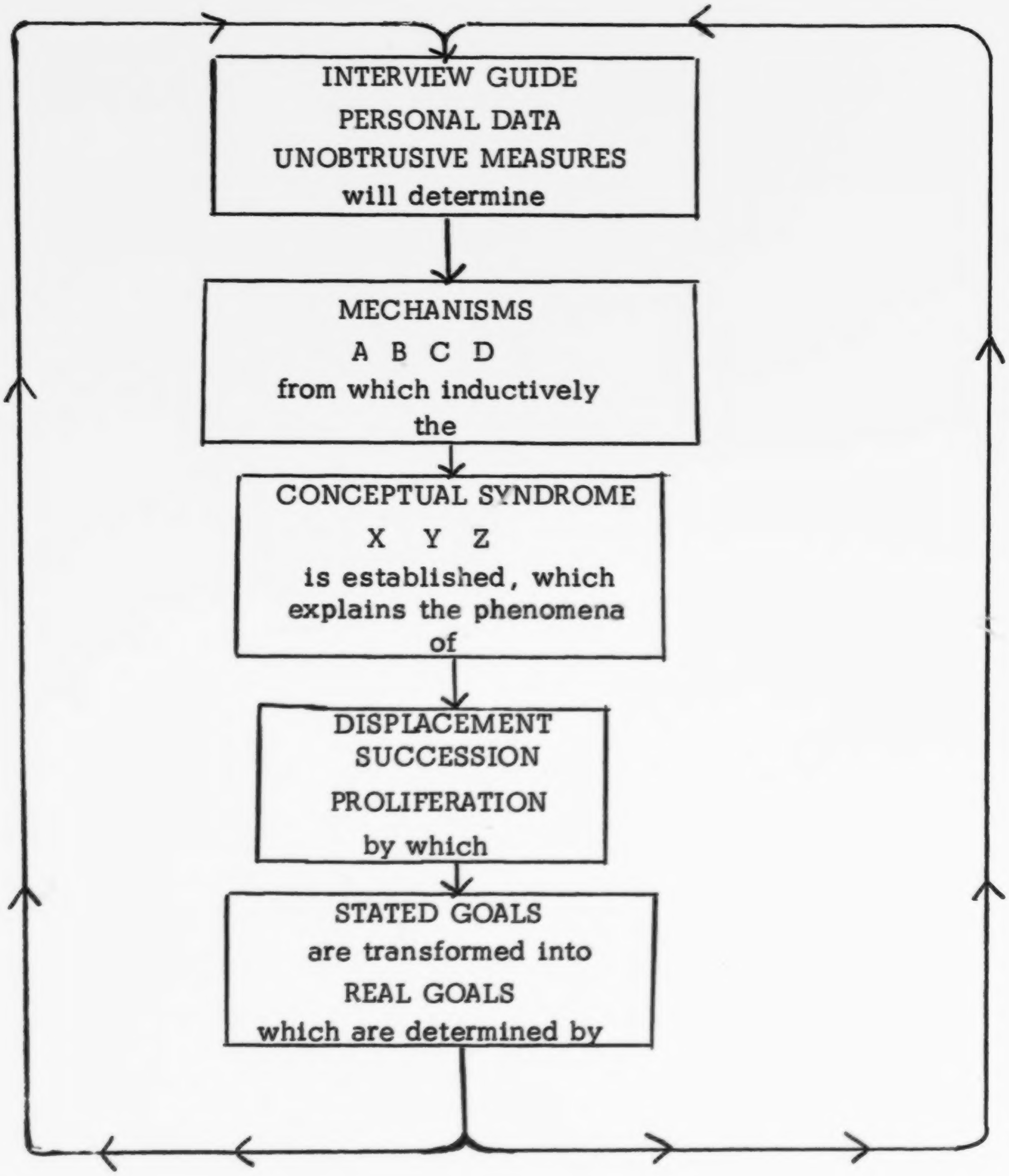
3. Upon determination of the mechanisms and through inductive analyses, the researcher established the conceptual syndrome.

4. The conceptual syndrome explains the phenomena of displacement, succession, proliferation.

5. Existence of the three transformation processes will indicate how the stated goals of the organization are transformed into the real organizational goals. The real organizational goals, in turn, will be determined by use of the interview guide, personal data, and unobstrusive measures.

FIGURE 1

A FLOW CHART OF PROCEDURES FOR
GOAL TRANSFORMATION ANALYSIS
IN A STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION


INTERVIEW GUIDE
PERSONAL DATA
UNOBTRUSIVE MEASURES
will determine
MECHANISMS
A B C D
from which inductively the
CONCEPTUAL SYNDROME
X Y Z
is established, which explains the phenomena of
DISPLACEMENT
SUCCESSION
PROLIFERATION
by which
STATED GOALS
are transformed into
REAL GOALS
which are determined by

CHAPTER III

GOAL SETTING

Although administrators in the State Department felt goals were necessary if the organization was to function systematically and effectively, not until 1967 did the State Department of Education have any officially adopted goals for education. However, the Department was not unique in this respect. A study, during the summer of 1968 of state departments and territories, revealed that of the sixty-five percent responding to the request for a statement of goals, only two states or six percent returned information which pertained to goals not philosophically stated and suitable for measuring. The other statements received would have to be operationalized because they were not stated in terms of criteria, but rather stated philosophically and would therefore be very difficult to measure. Thirty-one percent of the states indicated they had no information at all pertaining to state department goals.[1]

Prior to 1967, the State Department being investigated in this study considered as its goals three abstract objectives: leadership, administration and services. The term abstract is preferred because in an analysis of the stated objectives, such words as provide, serve, work cooperatively with, keep in mind, etc., were disbursed commonly throughout the various sub-objectives and did not have a measurable empirical reference base. March and Simon have stated that goals are the principal bridge between motivation and cognition and that abstract goals of organizations are too complex to serve as basis for an individual's rational behavior. For a person to behave rationally in an organization, the organization must substitute for the complex reality a model of reality that is sufficiently simple to be handled. Factoring the abstract goals into a number of nearly interdependent parts ia a fundamental technique for simplifying the problem.[2] The primary way to factor a problem is to initiate a means-end analysis. In this process, any decision concerning a goal in turn requires a decision about the means by which the goal is to be accomplished. These means, in turn, become subgoals about which further decisions need to be made regarding the means by which these subgoals are to be achieved. These secondary means then become sub-subgoals and so on, until the statements of means become specific enough to permit action to be taken. "This sequence of means-ends is called the means-ends chain generated through means-end analysis."[3] This process applies to the goal setting process in the State Department of Education, which was initiated in 1967 by the Department's planning office.[4] In order to measure the effectiveness of education, the Department had to establish goals which would be listed operationally for measurement. In so doing, the administrators were cast into the leadership role of establishing the new goals. Were this not the system of operation, the organization would begin to drift. As Selznick points out: "Leadership is irresponsible when it fails to set goals and therefore lets the institution drift."[5]

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[1] Research completed by Human Resources Research Institute (Morgantown, West Virginia, College of Human Resources and Education, June, 1968)

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[2] James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Son., 1963), p. 151.

The State Department undertook to establish goals for education largely out of a recommendation by the Governors Comprehensive Planning Committee.[6] The following statement by

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[3] Joseph Litterer, The Analysis of Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1965), p. 139.

[4] A State Department History has recently been completed by members of the present staff. They have given permission to use the information.

[5] Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), p.

[6] Interview data.

Moneypenny indicates the influence of a sub-agency or group, "The existence of any institution in the process of realizing a set of goals is an indication that there are powerful groups in support of those goals."[7] The recommendation, in summary, requested (1) the development of objectives for the Department and (2) development of strategies for accomplishing the objectives. The State superintendent then appointed a committee with the assignment of developing goals for the Department. The committee proceeded by investigating any goal statements which might have been established prior to this undertaking. This investigation revealed that in 1964, goals had been established jointly between the State Department and the Education Association, but also found that the goals were not stated operationally and would be very difficult to measure. Various groups within the Department then began to submit to the committee chairman what they felt should be the goals of the Department. These appeared naturally dense with vested interests. The chairman, with the assistance of the planning office, analyzed the submitted statements for common trends and then presented a list of 31 goals to the committee for review. Upon approval by the State Department committee, the thirty-one goal statements were presented to county superintendents and other county educators for suggestions and approval. The 31 goal statements were then presented to the Governors Comprehensive Planning Committee who in turn adopted the goals as the official goals for education. In the process of committee discussion, the thirty-one goal statements were reduced to twenty-two.

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[7] Philip Moneypenny, "A Political Analysis of Structures for Educational Policy Making", in Government of Public Education for Adequate Policy Making. Ed. by William P. McClure and Van Miller, Bureau of Education Research, College of Education (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1960), p. 17.

Although subdividing the three original abstract objectives, the 22 goals were still not operationalized so that the effectiveness of the Department could be measured. The Department then contracted with a university to assist Department staff members in developing operational statements for measuring the goals. For the purpose of measuring, the 22 goals have now been further subdivided resulting in 49 statements.

The fifty-fifth (latest) report of the State Superintendent of Schools now reveals a statement of goals (See Appendix B) which has been approved by the Department and is divided into five major areas: (1) Planning for Comprehensiveness, (2) Instructional Program, (3) Personnel, (4) Facilities, and (5) Finance.

An attempt has been made to trace the process by which the State Department of Education established its stated organizational goals. The goals are a result of negotiations and discussions among a variety of people. However, as noted earlier in this report, organizations have stated goals which are primarily for front purposes and public consumption; and it is to the real goals one must look if he is to examine the true purpose of the organization.

Part I of this report presents the problem under investigation, the methodology by which the research was conducted and the technique used by the State Department in establishing its stated goals.

Part II puts forth a set of related concepts and mechanisms which constitute in this study, the conceptual syndrome and explains the process by which the stated organizational goals of the State Department are transformed into the real goal. The basic format for presentation of the syndrome is to (1) discuss each concept and (2) present a narrative description of the mechanisms which collectively determined the concept being expounded.

Part III utilizes the findings in the conceptual syndrome to determine the organization's real goal and the consequences upon the organization as a result of the transformation. Part III also presents the summary of the study wherein the flow chart presented on page 26 is completed to reveal the complete analysis of the goal transformation process in the State Department of Education.

CHAPTER IV

LEADERSHIP

Although research shows a limited knowledge of what constitutes leadership, its importance is generally conceded.[1] A problem which faces superordinates is findings ways in which they can extend the scope of their influence over subordinates beyond the narrow limits of formal authority. Two such approaches to the problem are domination and leadership. With domination the superordinate extends his controlling power over subordinates beyond the limits of his legal status demands by resorting to formal sanctions or threats of using sanctions. With leadership the superior furnishes services that obligate subordinates to him.[2]

Merton points out that effective and stable authority requires that superiors be in the position to actually observe the performance of subordinates and become familiar with their prevailing norms.[3]

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[1] Willard R. Lane, et al., Foundations of Educational Administration: A Behavioral Analysis (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1967), p. 301.

[2] Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach (San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Co., 1962), pp. 141-143.

After a thorough review of classical, human relations, and revisionists' theories, Bennis developed a definition of leadership which involves three major components: (a) an agent typically called a leader, (b) a process of induction or the ability to manipulate rewards which is termed power, and (c) the induced behavior which is referred to as influence. He defines power as the perceived ability to control appropriate rewards; a leader as the person who wields the rewards; and influence as an agent being able to exercise control over the subordinate's need satisfaction. Leadership was then viewed as a tripartite concept involving means control over rewards (power), an agent who manipulates the rewards, and an influence process.[4]

Selected research in leadership indicates that group members prefer a leader who shows consideration for them and "goes to bat for them" when they become involved in an organizational conflict.[5]

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[3] Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, 2nd ed. (Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1957), pp. 339-350.

[4] Warren G. Bennis, "Leadership Theory and Administrative Behavior: The Problem of Authority", Administrative Science Quarterly. Volume 4, June, 1959 - March, 1960, pp. 259-300.

[5] Cecil Gibbs, "Leadership" in Handbook of Social Psychology Gardner Lindsey (ed.), (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Press, 1954).

However, Pelz asserts that this is only true in small groups of ten or fewer. He found in large groups of white-collar workers, employees preferred a superior who identified more closely with higher management. He concluded that workers want their leaders to assist them in goal achievement.[6]

Bales, using small groups, found leadership more closely associated with contribution of ideas and with guidance or power than with liking or acceptance.[7]

In formal organizations, differential degrees of participation in the affairs of the group are involved. The leader of a large bureaucratic organization cannot be so representative in his behavior as can the informal leader of a small primary group. The leader's very position in the bureaucracy gives him a different perspective, and the longer he occupies his office the more different that perspective is likely to be since he has access to new kinds of knowledge and is subject to various extra group pressures.[8]

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[6] D. C. Pelz, "Leadership Within a Hierarchial Organization," _Journal of Social Issues_, 1951, 7, pp. 49-55.

[7] R. F. Bales, "The Equilibrium Problem in Small Groups" in T. Parsons, _et al._, _Working Papers in the Theory of Action_ (Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1953), pp. 111-161.

[8] Gibbs, _op. cit._, p. 897.

Leadership Vacuum

In this study of goal transformation in a State Department of Education, leadership was viewed from the perspectives of authority and group dynamics which give direction to attainment of organizational goals. With this frame of reference, evidence indicated a leadership vacuum existing in the State Department. It appears that some of this evidence resulted from a failure by the Department, in the past, to establish organizational goals to give direction to actions.[9]

Establishing goals was a recent indication by Department personnel that the responsibility of supplying leadership to the local school systems was a major concern. To reiterate Selznick's statement:

> Leadership is irresponsible when it fails to set goals and therefore lets the institution drift.[10]

The Congress is also concerned about state department leadership and revealed this concern with the enactment of ESEA Title V which specifically appropriates money to improve and expand leadership functions of state departments of education. This is evidenced by the following statement in a House of Representatives report:

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[9] As indicated in the previous section of goal setting, the Department's stated goals weren't established until 1967. The goal setting procedure in the Department failed to involve many of the lower level personnel and appeared to result in little commitment to the goals.

[10] Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration (New York: Row, Peterson, and Co., 1957), p. 143.

> If American education at the elementary and secondary levels is to be both free and effective, state educational agencies must be strengthened.[11]

Without goals to give direction, the Department was operating in a vacuum, for the omission of goals results in decisions being made in response to immediate pressures rather than on the basis of well established policies. An organization which has no goals does not know what it wants to be or what to do in order to get there. Many large institutions do drift and yet survive.[12] The State Department in the future, it would seem, can ill-afford to let itself drift if educators in the State are to look to it as the agency which gives direction to education in the State.

If the Department "drags its feet" in providing leadership services and lets the organization drift, "making short run, partial adaptations, the greatest danger lies in uncontrolled effects on organization character."[13] As Selznick asserts:

> If ultimately there is a complete change, with a new character emerging, those who formed and sustained the organization at the beginning may find that they no longer

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[11] United States Congress House of Representatives, Report on the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (To Accompany H.R. 2362), Report No. 143, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 20.

[12] Selznick, op. cit., p. 144.

[13] Ibid., p. 144.

fit the organization.[14]

Prior to 1950 the responsibility of the State Department was primarily regulatory in that its objective was to reveal evidence that the local school districts had complied with the State law. This type of operation became very perfunctory and required little expertise on the part of the staff. However, the goal of providing the services of supervision and of leadership to promote the development of an efficient public school system presents much more of a challenge and in turn requires the skill of highly trained professionals. Yet, evidence as indicated, suggests a leadership vacuum in the State Department. The investigator found several factors which appear to contribute to this vacuum.

The Board of Education, through the State Department, is by law the agency which is to establish education policy in the State; but because of a lack of staff in the initial organization of the Department, the responsibility for education has been abdicated to the local county units.

Many of the members of the Department have been recruited from the local counties. Subject field specialists are spending much of their time working in areas surrounding the resident county which houses the Department. This tends to reflect a "localized" Department.

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[14] Ibid., p. 145.

Due to the leadership vacuum which exists and has existed through the years, outside groups are playing an important role and exerting considerable influence on education in the State, resulting in educational goals of vested interest groups rather than those of the State Department. An example will illustrate the point. A bill was passed during the recent legislative session which increased teacher salaries in the State by $1000. An interview was then conducted by newspapermen with the Executive Secretary of the State Education Association rather than with the State Superintendent. Much of the influence which can be exerted by vested interest groups appears due to the lack of a legislative program established by the Department. This in turn allows individual groups to have considerable influence on legislators who then support programs of an outside agency rather than those of the Department.

In an effort to fill the leadership vacuum which exists, the Department has developed a comprehensive education program which has also served as means whereby the Department staff can become involved in planning.

This chapter turns to the above factors which are contributing to the leadership vacuum in the State Department and which are permitting education in the State to be under the direction of the objectives of vested interest groups rather than those of the Department.

Authority. Different types of authority relationships were found in this study. Due to the nature of the Department, the relationships apply both internally and externally. In an authority relationship, the subordinate suspends his own critical faculties and bases his compliance on the command or authority stimuli. When an employee joins an organization, he accepts an authority relationship and with certain legitimate limits, as he perceives it, he accepts orders and instructions as supplied.[15] Voluntary compliance with legitimate commands and suspension of judgments in advance of command are two aspects of authority that stem largely from social constraints exerted by the collectivity of the subordinates.[16] This type of authority relationship appears to exist within the Department between the Superintendent and the assistant superintendents.

Blau and Scott state that all formal organizations are examples of legal authority structures as put forth by Weber. In such, obedience is owed not to a person, but to a set of impersonal principles. These principles include a requirement to follow directives originating from an office superior to one's own, regardless of who occupies the higher office.[17] Since the State Superintendent's Office is provided for by the

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[15] James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1958), p. 90.

[16] Peter Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1962), p. 29.

[17] Ibid., pp. 31-32.

Constitution, this relationship also exists between the Superintendent and the assistant superintendents.

One of the areas of conflict in a professional organization lies in the control structure of the professional which stems from a collegial relationship. This relationship has two aspects: (1) the long training period required to acquire the body of knowledge, and (2) the review of peers based on an ethical code. Etzioni characterizes these two aspects as normative compliance.[18] Collegial relationships were observed within the Department at both upper and lower levels.

Traditional authority refers to practices which are being carried out primarily because of pre-established patterns or because it is justified on the grounds that this is the way things have been done in the past.[19] Traditional authority has been instrumental in keeping the responsibility for education at the local levels.

Presthus refers to legitimation of authority as "the process by which authority is accepted"[20] and discusses four bases of legitimation as: (1) technical expertise, (2) formal role, (3) rapport, and (4) a generalized deference to authority. One, technical expertise, appears to be relevant to Department personnel establishing an authority relationship over county personnel.

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[18] Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 14, 51.

[19] Etzioni refers to this point when discussing Weber's traditional type of authority. See Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 51-52.

[20] Robert V. Presthus, "Authority in Organizations," Public Administrators Review, Volume 20, pp. 86-91.

In outlining his basis of expertise, Presthus suggests that technical skill and professional attitudes are probably the most persuasive criteria for validating authority in the United States. He points out that when the superior's expertise is the same as that of his subordinates that validating his authority is particularly effective. He states:

> This source of legitimation has been strengthened by specialization which, in turn, has been reinforced by the professionalization process.[21]

Barnard discusses the subjective aspect of authority--the subordinates personal acceptance of the communication as authoritative.[22] He asserts that each person has a zone of indifference within which orders are acceptable without conscious questioning of their authority.[23] Such authority relationships exist both in the Department when Assistant Superintendents implement suggestions of the Superintendent and outside the Department when Department personnel use expertise and acceptance in getting county personnel to carry out requests.

The State Department administrative structure is organized under one administrative authority, the State Superintendent, who, in turn, is accountable directly to the Board of Education. An assistant superintendent speaks for his respective division and is the person primarily responsible for operations in his division. Assistant superintendents report directly to the superintendent. There are now six advisors who report directly to the superintendent and constitute most of his advisory cabinet. There are different types of organizations within respective bureaus. Bureau "A" has more designated supervisors who are responsible for activities of from 3 to 5 specialists. In this bureau, specialists seldom visit the bureau head without first going to the supervisor. In Bureau "B", although supervisors are established and are responsible for certain duties, specialists usually by-pass them and go directly to the bureau chief.

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Chester Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 163.

[23] Ibid., p. 169.

Within the Department, the only person who has authority over specialists is the bureau chief. The group of advisors have no direct authority over the specialists and only function in an advisory capacity.

Although decisions are usually made at the top of the hierarchy, specialists and middle-level administrators have the authority to operate as they see necessary within their specific roles. This is probably because they are encouraged, primarily, to work only as advisors to county personnel.

Collegial relationships have been established at various levels within the Department. When advisors are confronted with a problem, they appear to go to a particular member of the cabinet. He also seems to receive specific important assignments from the superintendent. It would appear that he has developed collegial authority over other advisors in the Department. Advisors as a group appear to have little authority over other Department personnel. Responses from interview guides seemed to support this assertion.

> We don't know what the advisors are supposed to do.
>
> They (advisors) are never involved with us except on an individual basis.

These responses seem further to support the notion that a gap exists between the upper level administrators in the Department and the specialists.

The same type collegial relationship was observed among the specialists in one of the bureaus. It was noted that Department personnel were often gathered in the office of a particular specialist.

The State Constitution establishes the State Board of Education as the agency to establish educational policy in the State and establishes the State Department as the agency through which the policies are implemented. Since policies of the State Board are usually developed by Department staff members, the policies are, in essence, usually those of the Department. The policies and objectives of the Board are almost invariably related to the State Education Program and thus implementation involves the county units.

Execution of the policies to a large extent is dependent upon the amount of authority Department personnel are able to exert over personnel in the counties. As indicated, the State Board, through the State Department, is provided with the legal authority for implementation of policies. However, interviews reflected the following responses from Department personnel.

> There is no teeth in State Department laws. They are completely ignored by county school systems.
>
> The State Department has little effective authority over State schools.
>
> The State Department should have more direct supervision over county schools rather than indirect.

How then did the authority for administration of schools become lodged in local boards of education rather than in the State Department of Education. An examination of the Department history is necessary to determine how this came about.

Six months after the State came into existence in 1863; and in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, the legislature established a system of free schools and provided for the election of a general superintendent for a term of two years at a salary of $1500 a year. For the next 37 years, until 1900, the State Department of Education consisted of one man - the State Superintendent. He had no assistants or clerks to assist him in his duties of disbursing school funds to the treasurers of the free schools.[24] A report by the State Superintendent in 1870 is pertinent at this point:

> The General Superintendent is now required to do office work without a clerk, and also to travel in the State at large--rather difficult things to be done at the same time by one person. The question arises, whether the Superintendent should not have a clerk, relieving his duties of the incongruity and enabling more and better service to be performed.[25]

As late as 1900, the State Department staff consisted only of the State Superintendent, one or two clerks, and a stenographer. With such limited staff, there appears little left for an administrator to do except abdicate the responsibility for education to the local units. Thus, because of the lack of staff in early years, responsibility for the direction of education has been decentralized to the local counties who are apparently operating in accordance with local established objectives rather than those of the Department's. Selznick's illustration of decentralization appears relevant. He alludes to decentralization as "the maintenance of policy without overly concentrated or multiplied controls.[26]

The Department staff has increased considerably since 1900.

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[24] State Department History, p. 3.

[25] State Superintendent of Free Schools, Seventh Annual Report (John Fren Public Printer, 1870), p. 47.

[26] Selznick, op. cit., p. 112.

By 1920 the staff totaled eleven members, by 1946 it numbered nineteen, in 1966 the Department listed eighty-six professional positions. At the present time, the staff numbers 101. It appears that the reorganization in 1933, in which the State was organized into its present 55 counties, should have gradually permitted some of the responsibility to be centralized again in the Department. Apparently tradition has been an important factor in keeping the responsibility for education at the local levels.

Although the apparent legal authority provided by the constitution to the department is ineffective in local counties, an effort is made to show how, through the expertise of Department staff, authority could be reestablished over the local units. The factor of authority as it relates to the Department personnel in their relationship with county personnel is important since Department objectives are usually interrelated with county operations.

As was shown in the population section of this study, 89 of the Department personnel are considered operative personnel. Fifty-seven percent of these people hold the title of program specialist, and by such, are making day-by-day contacts with county personnel. In addition, even those who hold the titles of supervisors, coordinators, and directors and who constitute the other forty-three percent also make daily contact, either by phone or visit, to the local units. These people, by and large, perceive themselves as having little authority over the county personnel. The following comments from the interviews were typically revealing:

> "We only consult the counties in what they want to do. We don't initiate."
>
> "We are in the background, not in the forefront when working with county people."

However, is this actually true? Specialists are employed in the Department as subject matter consultants in a particular field of work. As such, they are status leaders in their particular subject fields. All have had prior teaching experience and belong to state and national organizations which have as a primary goal the professionalization of the particular field. Thus, the specialist gains his expertise on the basis of training and teaching experience and professional orientation to his specialized subject field. As an expert, teachers and administrators in the State seek his advice in establishing programs in the schools. Through this interaction, the specialist can establish his authority over county personnel, for authority is based on acceptance, not on the giving of an order. As Barnard states:

> Authority is the character of a communication (order) in a formal organization by virtue of which it is accepted by a contributor to or member of the organization as governing the action he contributes; that is, as governing or determining what he does or is not to do so far as the organization is concerned.[27]

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[27] Chester I. Barnard, Functions of the Executive (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 163.

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He further asserts:

> If a directive communication is accepted by one to whom it is addressed, its authority for him is confirmed or established. It is admitted as the basis of action. Disobedience of such a communication is a denial of its authority for him. Therefore, under this definition, the decision as to whether an order has authority or not lies with the persons to whom it is addressed, and does not reside in persons of authority or those who issue the orders.[28]

As noted earlier, due to the lack of staff during the period of early statehood, authority for supervision of the public schools has been abdicated to the local boards of education which are apparently operating on the basis of local objectives rather than those of the Department. However, the legislature, through the provision of the constitution, has placed the responsibility for general supervision of schools with the State Superintendent of Schools through his Department. Since State Department personnel function largely as consultants to local boards, there appears likelihood that local units will pursue local goals rather than those of the Department.

It would seem that by applying the concepts of expertise and acceptance, the State Department could begin to reestablish authority over local units.

This seems to necessarily imply that all Department staff would have to possess expertise in order for county personnel to accept directives of the Department. It also implies that Department personnel would need to know the zones of indifference of county personnel in carrying out their tasks. Such would probably result in more attainment of Department objectives.

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[28] Ibid.

Localized leadership. The Department is charged with general supervision of the schools in the State. This implies that all counties throughout the State should be supervised by Department personnel in order to carry out the function. Interview data obtained during the present study indicated that "local superintendents are now looking to the Department more and more for their leadership." If this is the case, what then accounts for the data which indicate a leadership vacuum?

An analysis of Department records which reveal the purposes for travel by Department personnel indicate that fifty-one percent of the trips made by personnel in Bureau "A" were for purposes of conducting in-service meetings and twenty-one percent were made for working with county personnel regarding the Department's comprehensive education program. Both of these functions appear to indicate leadership activities by Department personnel and could be extremely important in providing the means by which Department objectives could be implemented in the counties.

A further analysis, however, indicated that the leadership services are localized. The Department appears to be influenced by local educators in both its recruitment practices and the travel conducted by staff.

Localized in this study takes on a different connotation when compared to the findings of Kaufman in his study of the forest ranger.[29] Kaufman found that forest rangers were unduly influenced by local citizens and tended to become coapted by them. As a result of the local influence, forest rangers worked against stated official policy. As one eminent student of government observes:

> Where considerable authority is developed upon field officials, there is always the danger...that policy will be unduly influenced by those individuals and groups who are in closer and more intimate contact with the field men than are the superior officers...Localized influence...if carried to any great lengths, is likely to beget such differences of policy between field offices that national policy will be a fiction.[30]

In this study, Department personnel were not working against stated policy during their visits in local counties, but rather were working in line with Department policy. The problem is that local counties appear to be receiving a disproportionate amount of the travel time.

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[29] Herbert Kaufman, The Forest Ranger: A Study in Administrative Behavior (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), pp. 75-80.

[30] D. B. Truman, Administrative Decentralization (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940), pp. 14-15.

In an effort to support the localized leadership mechanism, an analysis of personnel records was undertaken. Data relative to the examination is presented in Table II. It can be seen that 75 members of the Department staff have been recruited from county school systems within the State; and of that group, 36 were recruited from the resident and neighboring counties. This in part may explain why county personnel are spending much of their time traveling in the local counties, for a Department specialist, being known in the county from which he was recruited, may then receive more requests from that county system.

TABLE II

INFORMATION CONCERNING STAFF RECRUITMENT WITHIN STATE

Location	Number Recruited
County School System	75
Resident and Neighboring Counties	36

To further corroborate the "localized leadership" mechanism, a study was undertaken of the travel patterns of Department personnel in two of the bureaus. Table III graphically presents data relative to a sampling of travel patterns of Bureau "A" personnel. Each of the eight counties surrounding the resident county is designated in the table by the use of an arabic numeral which represents a rank in an alphabetical listing of the counties. These counties constitute about twelve percent of the school population. The sampling of Department personnel studied made a total of 558 trips to various counties, of which 115 trips or twenty percent were to the neighboring counties. It can be seen from the table that trips made to counties "40", "41", and "44" totaled 73 or 63 percent.

TABLE III

TRIPS MADE BY SPECIALISTS CLASSIFIED AS TO NEIGHBORING COUNTIES* AND SCHOOL POPULATION

County**	School Population	Number of Trips
3	7,100	10
8	2,925	7
10	14,797	10
18	5,861	9
22	5,487	6
40	6,834	26
41	19,017	31
44	3,399	16
Total	65,420	115

*Neighboring refers to those counties which border the resident county.

**Number represents rank in alphabetical listing of counties.

Though not a neighboring county, but in proximity, the single county in the State to which most of the trips were made is fifty miles away. A total of 47 trips or eight percent was made to this county. This percentage added to the twenty percent cited above results in twenty-eight percent of the trips being made to the local counties.

Table IV presents data for a concluding analysis. The five counties making up the "northern panhandle" of the State contain nine percent of the State school population, but receive only five percent of the Department travel time. There appears little doubt that personnel in Bureau "A" are spending much of their time traveling for purposes of attending meetings, conducting in-service for teachers, etc., and providing leadership services; but the fact that it is localized and being done in only a portion of the State has the effect of creating a "leadership gap" to the rest of the State where Department objectives should also be implemented.

TABLE IV

TRIPS MADE BY SPECIALISTS CLASSIFIED AS TO NORTHERN PANHANDLE COUNTIES AND SCHOOL POPULATION

County*	School Population	Number of Trips
5	6,541	5
15	9,284	2
25	7,452	5
35	10,165	11
52	4,828	5
Total	38,270	28

*Number represents rank in alphabetical listing of counties.

An analysis of Bureau "B" travel patterns further proliferates the "leadership gap" in, that of the 274 trips made, thirteen counties in the State were not visited and eleven counties were visited one time. Thus, forty-three percent of the counties were visited about five percent of the time.

Group influences. Educational development proceeds in a variety of ways and must serve a variety of groups who, in turn, to varying degrees, influence the educational process. The variety of educational offerings is further influenced by an ever growing group of agencies and people who feel they have the answers to the problems. Gross, in his study of Massachusetts superintendents and board members, lists the following individuals or groups as exerting pressure on the schools: (1) parents, (2) parent-teacher associations, (3) teachers, (4) taxpayer groups, (5) town finance committees, and (6) politicians.[31] While this study is not concerned with pressure upon schools, it is concerned with outside groups able to influence education at the State level, since outside influence could result in implementation of goals of vested interests groups rather than those of the Department.

Interview data revealed that, as Department personnel perceive outside groups, about one-half of the respondents cited the State superintendents as having the most influence on Department operations and in influencing education in the State. This view is supported by an analysis of the Board of Education minutes. The superintendents were able, on January 25, 1968, to persuade the Board to postpone the effective date to terminate out-of-field teaching until the end of the school year rather than during the second semester.[32] On April 22, 1968, the Board approved a resolution passed by the association of school administrators which changed the definition providing for liscensure of reading teachers.[33] However, a further analysis of the kinds of influences brought about by the superintendents group indicate they exert more of the "approving" and "checking" influence rather than influencing the development from the beginning. Superintendents are unable to exert more direct influence probably due to the lack of any officially paid secretary to care for the association needs.

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[31] Neal Gross, Who Runs our Schools (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958), pp. 15-22.

Other agencies have also been influential to some extent in influencing education in the State. The Federal Government, for example, through its reports and guidelines, have regulated Department operations. It has been shown earlier that goals established by the Department came about largely through the recommendation of the Governor's Comprehensive Planning Committee. The Department's Comprehensive Education Program evolved largely through the influence of the Federal Government and S.B. 102.[34]

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[32] Official Minutes of State Board of Education, January 25, 1968.

[33] Ibid., January 22, 1968.

The vocational education act has largely been responsible for the State plan developed in that area, for it states in section 5a of the act:

> A State which desires to receive its allotments of Federal funds under this act shall submit through its state agency to the Commissioner a state plan, in such detail as the Commissioner deems necessary.[35]

Such groups as community action, civil rights, parents organizations, labor organizations, business and industry groups with vested interests in education all have, to some degree, had some influence on the direction of educational development in the State. However, because of the leadership vacuum at the State level, the State Education Association appears to be able to exert more influence and direction upon education than does the State Department.

Through their professional association, subject-field specialists are often able to influence national and state legislation.[36] Through the use of a monthly magazine, current newsletters to teachers, lobbying in the legislature, employment of a trained professional staff housed in a building near the Capitol, the State Education Association has been able to bring about commendable educational changes in the State. Excerpts from characteristic interviews corroborated this view:

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[34] The CEP was initiated after the legislature passed S.B. 102. The bill was passed largely through influence of a county superintendent.

[35] Vocational Education Act of 1963. Hearings from the General Committee on Education, 88th Congress, First Session on Title V-A of H.R. 3000, and H.R. 4955. Adam C. Powell, Chairman. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 33.

> The....education association has more power with legislators than the Department does.
>
> The....education association is very influential but sometimes goes in opposite direction from the Department causing confusion to legislators and citizenry.
>
> The....education association is able to convince legislators of the importance of their system.
>
> The....education association shows more strength in functions of a State Department than teachers welfare.

This is supported by a legislator in a recent speech when he stated:

> All of my mail this year regarding education is Design '69 (Education Association Program), not the Department program.[37]

Four years ago, Decision '65, a program developed by the Association, was approved by the legislature and all but established them as the "voice" for education in the State. Decision '65, for example, was responsible not only for a pay increase[38] for the teachers over a three-year period, but also the extension of the school year to ten months beginning with the 1967-68 fiscal year. As an indication to the Association's mode of operation for gaining support of their programs, a bulletin to the joint committee on government and finance listed a School Finance Committee of nine members made up of seven superintendents, one assistant superintendent and a former superintendent now directing a PACE center. The Association's present legislative program incorporates education from early childhood through high school and beyond to higher education.[39] It has also been very influential in the development of a new finance formula through which State funds will be disbursed to the county systems. Needless to say, the formula has built-in factors which encourage the employment of additional teachers in various positions, but fails to make provisions for special school personnel such as guidance counselors.

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[36] Etzioni, op. cit., pp. 75-82.

[37] Speech given by legislator at Phi Delta Kappan Meeting at State University, January 31, 1969.

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[38] The major emphasis of Decision '65 was the salary increase teachers were to receive over a three-year period. However, at the inception of Decision '65, the State's teachers were about $1305 below the national average. At the end of the three-year program, the State was $1400 below the national average in teacher salary. Source: Salary Schedule of Classroom Teachers, 1968-69 Research Report, State Education Association.

[39] Education Design '69: A Master Highway to Learning, Education Association Bulletin.

Thus, due to the leadership vacuum at the State level, the goals of the State Education Association appear predominantly as those directing education in the State.

Legislative program. Since the State legislature, with its powers to make laws and appropriate funds, is the ultimate policy-making body for education in the State, the key leadership function for the State Department is to impress upon legislators the importance of their programs and gain the needed financial support to implement them. For as Campbell asserts: "Educational policy-making at all governmental levels is immersed in politics and by definition educational policy-making is political action."[40]

As indicated in the section on goal setting, prior to 1967, the Department had no official organizational goals. As such Department personnel were not only "dragging their feet" in giving direction to the organization, but also were failing to provide leadership which would move the organization toward any kind of objective. Primarily because of this leadership vacuum, the State Education Association has been able to become the agency largely responsible for the direction of education in the State.

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[40] Roald Campbell, *et al.*, *The Organization and Control of American Schools* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc., 1965), p. 404.

This year, for the first time, the Department is making an effort to fill the obvious vacuum which exists. They have developed a program and have held meetings with various legislative groups; but the foreword of the booklet containing the Department program of eighteen recommendations revealed a lack of structure when it states:

> No attempt has been made to place the items in priority order. The impact of many of them would be severely damaged by a failure to implement others.[41]

By contrast, a part of an interview with a legislator was as follows:

> The Department is lacking the leadership necessary to impress upon legislators the importance of more financial support. The Education Association has established itself as the spokesman for teachers in the State and is filling the vacuum. It is functioning more as a State Department than as a teacher welfare agency. The Department must begin to take stands on the issues so that legislators know which direction to go.

The Department's Legislative Program not only went to the legislators without firm decisions on priorities, but the Program really was not completed until December 13, 1968, when a meeting with the superintendents was called to approve it. With legislators convening January 8, 1969, there was little time left for superintendents to build support for the program at the grass roots. In comparison, the education program, Design '69, was completed March, 1968.

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[41] Recommendations of the State Department of Education for Legislative Action, State Department of Education, 1969.

Further support suggesting a leadership vacuum was obtained at a hearing regarding H.B. 599*, which was recently passed by the legislature. The bill will reorganize education in the State by creating a Board of Regents to administer higher education, thus freeing the State Board of Education to spend its time on public elementary and secondary education. This writer attended the hearing[42] when presentations were made by several educators throughout the State regarding the bill. The spokesmen presenting positions for the public schools were (1) President of the State Board of Education, (2) Executive Secretary of the Education Association, and (3) Executive Secretary of the School Board Association.

There appears little doubt that the most important people in education in the State are the legislators, for the manner in which they decide the issues is critical to the type of educational program the State will have. Their decisions must be based upon a thorough understanding of the proposed legislation before them. As a legislator recently stated:

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*After completion of this report, subsequent data were obtained which necessitates a clarification of this point. The clarification is made in Appendix C.

[42] A hearing was held in the House Chambers in which various educators from throughout the State were given an opportunity to present their positions on the reorganization bill. The hearing was held February 4, 1969, and included presentations by predominantly Higher Education personnel.

> Legislators are asking for critical needs and alternatives to reaching them, but research is doing nothing in this area.[43]

Interview data indicated that the State legislature wants to take actions which will improve education in the State and that it seeks and desires information concerning education from the State Department of Education. As has been pointed out, prior to this year, the Department has done little in the way of a legislative program, thus enabling the State Education Association to establish objectives for education in the State.

Comprehensive educational program. In 1963, the legislature passed S. B. 102 which encouraged the establishment and operation of a comprehensive educational program in the State. Under the law, the Board of Education was to guide the development of plans for a comprehensive program in the county systems. Such plans were to be submitted to and approved by the Board of Education. In turn, the legislature appropriated one million dollars, which has been maintained since 1965, to serve as incentive to the counties in developing standards which fit the comprehensive plan. Under the plan, county school systems could participate in the special funding in two ways: (1) if a new program were to be initiated, an application could be submitted for incentive money; and

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[43] Speech by legislator at Phi Delta Kappan Meeting at a State University. January 31, 1969.

(2) if innovative programs were being developed as a result of local initiative, an application could be submitted for support funds.

The plan has now been in operation three years and is viewed by most educators as:

> "The best educational program of offerings for the elementary and secondary schools yet devised at the State level."[44]

Similar assertions were made by the USOE team when they stated:

> "The CEP describes elements of a quality educational program and provides an evaluative instrument through which school systems can assess programs."[45]

The program covers all areas of education from pre-kindergarten to post high school and adult education and has accomplished what one member of the Department staff described as:

> "It is our modus operandi. It is the plan which directs our operation when working with counties in developing curriculum."

The original purpose of CEP was to permit a county to survey its program in order to qualify for funds rather than evaluate its program. However, the staff has since recognized that the objectives of CEP must be operationally stated in order to assess education in the State. Interview data suggested that, in addition to the above, there appears to be two other reasons for revision of the plan.

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[44] Evaluation Report of the Comprehensive Educational Program. State Department of Education, December, 1968, p. 2.

[45] Report of Review of State Department of Education. By U.S. Office of Education, December 4-6, 1967, p. 21.

1. The legislature is interested in finding out how much of an impact CEP is making in the State.
2. There appeared to be a lack of knowledge about CEP by Department staff who were responsible for assisting county school systems in developing their programs.

As one member of the Department stated:

> "CEP needs revised to be more effective in use in the counties. The CEP statements are vague and must be better defined to be evaluated."

There appears little question that the Department views CEP as their means of providing leadership to the county school systems, and the effort which has gone into developing the program is highly commendable. As the State is now organized, realizing the goal of CEP may be a bit presumptuous. A recent study revealed that only one county in the State is offering the full comprehensive program established by CEP.[46] Other factors which appear to prevent the Department from realizing the goal of comprehensiveness are regionalization of education and centralization of agencies. Both are discussed in the chapter on real goal. To the Department, CEP has been more than just a program by which counties can receive some additional funds. It appears to be the instrument by which Department administrators have been able to involve the total staff in planning toward common objectives. As was indicated in the methodology section of this report, early interviews revealed that there was no staff involvement in program planning, and there appeared to be little commitment to CEP, largely because most of the staff working with CEP weren't with the Department when it was initially conceptualized and planned. The staff obviously was dissatisfied with the operations and were experiencing the conflict which conjoins many professionals in an organization; that is, the conflict between the demands for individual growth and the constrains of the organization's authority, which, in this case, referred to no involvement.

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[46] For an analysis of CEP, see Mobilizing for Change, State Development Plan. Functional Program Planning Series, State Planning Office, Department of Commerce, December, 1968, Report No. 6, pp. 43-61.

Miller and Form conclude that group collaboration toward organizational goals will do much to alleviate such problems as absenteeism, turnover, poor morale, etc.[47] In support of this, Argyris contends that the individual lives to fulfill his personal goals and that he can't do these things without participation in the organization. By the same token, the organization also exists to fulfill its needs and achieve its goals and that without the participation of the individual, the goals won't be realized; but formal organizations normally lack the arena in which the individual can realize optimum growth. Effective leadership, he asserts, is the fusion of the needs of the organization and the individual so that the individual gains optimum satisfaction in his growth and the organization is fulfilling its goals.[48] As Argyris says:

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[47] Delbert C. Miller and William H. Form, Industrial Sociology (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), pp. 72-73.

> ....if the organization's goals are to be achieved, and knowing that both will always strive for self-actualization, it follows that effective leadership behavior is "fusing" the individual and the organization in such a way that both simultaneously obtain optimum self-actualization. The process of the individual using the organization to fulfill his needs and simultaneously the organization using the individuals to achieve its demands has been called by Bakke the fusion process.[49]

Revising the plan involves participation by all Department personnel in their respective areas. In this way, administrators are able to utilize the expertise of subject-field specialists in contributing to the revision of the plan. Thus, the specialists are not only participating in the setting of objectives, but they are also contributing to the means by which such objectives can be achieved. The administrators have apparently successfully fused the needs of the subject field specialists with the needs of the Department. As Getzels and

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[48] Chris Argyris, Personality and Organization (New York: Harper and Row, 1957), p. 211.

[49] Ibid.

Guba illustrate:

> The unique task of administration, at least with respect to staff relations, is just this: to integrate the demands of the institution and the demands of the staff members in a way that is at once organizationally productive and individually fulfilling.[50]

State board of education. The State Board of Education is established by law as the agency which, through the State Department, establishes policies for public elementary and secondary education in the State. Therefore, the amount of time the State Board can give to Department recommendations and policies is essential if the Department is to be able to initiate programs and policies necessary for obtaining its objectives.

Much has been said about the operation of the State Board of Education and amount of leadership it gives to various educational programs. At a recent Phi Delta Kappan meeting, it was stated that the Board spent 95 percent of its time on higher education activities and 5 percent of its time on all other activities.[51] At a recent hearing on the education reorganization bill, H.B. 599, the Executive Secretary of the Education Association stated that the Board spends from 80-90 percent of its time on higher education and from 10-20 percent on other activities. At the same hearing, the President of the State Board stated that the Board is "way over balanced" in the time spent on higher education. In an effort to determine the activities of the State Board of Education, an analysis of seventeen meetings and 919 agenda items was undertaken. An item was analyzed if it required approval and a vote by the Board. Data relevant to the analysis are shown in Tables V, VI, and VII.

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[50] J. W. Getzels and Egan Guba, "Social Behavior and the Administration Process", The School Review, LXV (Winter, 1957) (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 423-441), p. 430.

[51] Speech by Legislator at Phi Delta Kappan Meeting at a State University, January 31, 1969.

Table V reveals that of the 919 agenda items recorded in the Board minutes, 765 or 83 percent pertained to higher education, while 106 or 13 percent pertained to public elementary and secondary education. Thirty-six items or 3 percent dealt with vocational rehabilitation and 12 items or 1 percent pertained to the schools for deaf and blind.

Table VI shows the content of higher education items. Of the 765 items pertaining to higher education, 251 or 33 percent dealt with physical plant, 208 or 27 percent with personnel, 91 or 12 percent with budget, 87 or 11 percent with programs, 82 or 11 percent with items listed generally under higher education business and 46 or 6 percent pertained to higher education policy. The data indicate that, of the 106 items pertaining to public elementary and secondary

TABLE V

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF AGENDA ITEMS FROM 17 BOARD MEETINGS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL AGENCY

Educational Area	Number	Percent
Higher Education	765	83
Public Elementary & Secondary	106	13
Vocational Rehabilitation	36	3
Deaf and Blind Schools	12	1
Total	919	100

TABLE VI

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF AGENDA ITEMS OF 17 BOARD MEETINGS RELATIVE TO HIGHER EDUCATION CLASSIFIED AS TO CONTENT

Category	Number	Percent
Physical Plant	251	31
Personnel	208	27
Budget	91	12
Programs	87	12
Business	82	11
Policy	46	6
Total	765	99

education, 30 or 28 percent dealt with program, 28 or 26 percent with education policy, 21 or 20 percent with personnel and 21 or 20 percent with items categorized under public school business. The other 6 items were disbursed throughout other areas.

This analysis does not reveal specifically how much time the Board spends in carrying out various activities; but at a given meeting, one agenda item may require most of the meeting. By contrast, several items which require agenda time can be handled quickly and efficiently. The analysis merely points to the areas which in one way or another are affecting the Board's operations. Such an overwhelming difference between higher education and public education agenda items would appear to indicate that all things being equal, the Board of Education spends much more time dealing with matters pertaining to higher education than on any other phase of the educational program.

An examination of the established policies of the Board reveals that of the 49 policies examined, 29 or 59 percent pertain to higher education, 5 or 10 percent pertain specifically to public elementary and secondary education, and 15 or 30 percent pertain to both higher education and public education. This finding is supported by a study of the policymaking activities of State Boards of Education.[52]

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[52] The Role and Policy-Making Activities of State Boards of Education, Report on a Special Study Project, Prepared and Edited by M. Schweickhard (Minnesota: Centennial Building, St. Paul, September, 1967), p. 61.

In that report, the State Board is shown to have an established policy in each of the policy areas pertaining to higher education and to have policies established in thirty-six percent of the established areas of public education. The section of this report dealing with organization fragmentation reveals that five different agencies report to the State Board of Education. This, supported by the above analyses, indicates that the work load of the State Board is too heavy to be dealt with in the time allowed.

Table VII gives information about content of Board agenda items concerning elementary and secondary education. The data show that only twenty-eight percent of the Board agenda items pertain to public elementary and secondary programs while twenty-six percent pertain to education policies. This appears to indicate that the State Board of Education is limited in its efforts to assist the Department in realizing its objectives.

TABLE VII

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF AGENDA ITEMS OF 17 BOARD MEETINGS RELATIVE TO ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION CLASSIFIED AS TO CONTENT

Category	Number	Percent
Programs	30	28
Educational Policy	28	26
Personnel	21	20
Business	21	20
Other	6	5
Total	106	99

Summary. In this chapter leadership was viewed within the context of authority and group dynamics which gave direction to attainment of organizational goals. This framework inductively led to a discovery of a leadership vacuum in the State Department.

The chapter revealed that due to a lack of staff in the Department during the period of initial organization, authority for education in the State was not centralized in the Department but rather decentralized in the county units. Though the Department's staff has increased, tradition apparently has prevented centralizing the authority. Thus, it appeared that local counties were working toward local objectives rather than those of the Department.

Collegial relationships at both upper and lower levels were shown in the Department. It was projected that, on the basis of expertise and acceptance, Department staff may be able to reestablish authority over county personnel.

Department personnel have organized and initiated leadership activities primarily in local counties which, in turn, appeared to have resulted in a localized State Department.

The State Board of Education has spent little time on policies and programs for public education in the State. This appeared to have been due to the Board's comprehensive responsibilities of establishing policy for both higher education and the public elementary and secondary system.

The Department's failure to provide leadership appeared to have resulted in a lack of legislative programs reflecting Department goals. This has enabled the State Education Association with its vested interests to become a very influential agency in directing education in the State.

This chapter presented various factors which contributed to the leadership vacuum in the State Department and gave evidence that this condition prevented or hindered attainment of Department goals.

CHAPTER V

BUREAUCRACY

A bureaucracy has been described as a rational, efficient organization of statuses, characterized by hierarchical authority, specialized competence, systematic rules and impersonality.[1]

A bureaucracy has long appeared to be at odds with the work requirements, norms, and values of professionals. A professional is a recognized master of a particular body of knowledge and practice as a result of extensive and specialized training, and he is committed to using his knowledge and skills in accordance with standards established by the profession to which he belongs.[2]

The work norms of the professional emphasizes self-government for the profession and freedom for the professional within the limits of his profession. The bureaucracy, on the other hand, has hard and fast rules which apply to all alike and do not allow for dealing with the exceptional case, which professionals are likely to encounter.[3]

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[1] Peter Blau, Bureaucracy in Modern Society (New York: Random House, 1956), p. 19.

[2] A. M. Carr - Saunders and P. A. Wilson, The Professions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), pp. 284-318.

[3] *Ibid.*

Although bureaucracies have been shown to be highly efficient,[4] modern organization theorists such as Merton, Blau, and Gouldner point out serious dysfunctional consequences of bureaucracies.

Gouldner criticizes the principles of hierarchy of authority and its contrast to the concept of expertise. He states, "On the one side, it was administration based on expertise; while on the other, it was administration based on discipline."[5] After conducting a study of professionals in an organization, he concludes: "...there seems to be some tension between an organization's bureaucratic needs for expertise and its social system needs for loyalty."[6]

Merton summarizes the dilemma of bureaucracy:

> 1. An effective bureaucracy demands reliability of response and strict devotion to regulations.
>
> 2. Devotion to rules leads to their transformation into absolutes which are no longer conceived as relative to a given set of purposes.
>
> 3. The transformation of rules into absolutes interferes with ready adaptation under special conditions not clearly envisaged by those who drew up the general rules.

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[4] See Max Weber, The Theory of Social and Economic Organizations Translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: The Free Press, 1947).

[5] Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (Glencoe. Illinois: The Free Press, 1954), p. 22.

[6] Ibid., p. 23.

4. The very elements which conduce toward efficiency in general produce inefficiency in specific instances.[7]

Blau found that introduction of statistical records of performances as an evaluation system produced increased performance on the one hand and produced dysfunctions for the operations on the other.[8]

The creation of new roles for research administration may accommodate the strain between professional autonomy and bureaucratic control. Administrative matters are controlled on the basis of hierarchical principles of authority, while those matters regarded by the professional as the primary responsibilities of the individual are more subject to multilateral determination through colleague relationships.[9]

Growth in an organization which may result in a bureaucracy, effects the achievement of organization goals. Clark found in his study of the Salvation Army in Canada that as the organization grew larger and became more successful that the leadership began to devote more of its time to maintenance of the organization rather than toward organization effectiveness.[10]

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[7] Robert Merton, "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality", Social Forces, Vol. 18, No. 4, May, 1940, p. 564.

[8] Peter Blau, Dynamics of Bureaucracy (Chicago The University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 116.

[9] William Kornhauser, Scientists in Industry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 201-202.

[10] S. D. Clark, Church and Sect in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1948).

Merton suggests that bureaucracies have certain effects on its members' personalities and that it creates in individuals tendencies to adhere rigidly to rules and regulations. Instead of making the rules and procedures means to organizational goals, they became the ends in themselves resulting in displacement of goals.[11]

In a professional organization, providing incentives to personnel is important in the attainment of organizational goals. Kornhauser states:

> Professions and organizations are effective in achieving goals only so far as they are able to induce and sustain satisfactory level of participation.[12]

The amount of participation could be dependent upon the types of incentives supplied to professionals. Kornhauser's review of literature, relative to incentives in professional organizations, indicates that financial reward and freedom to work as one wants without restrictions appear to be two important types of incentives for professionals.[13]

The decision making process is a given in organizations based on classical theory. Formal organizations are the bureaucracies in which the decision making process is organized on the basis of a hierarchy of authority predicated on written rules, regulations, and on given objectives.

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[11] Merton, op. cit., pp. 563-566.

[12] Kornhauser, op. cit., p. 155.

[13] Ibid., pp. 118-156.

Simon conceives of an organizational hierarchy as being primarily a decision-making structure. This leads him to describe an organization as one which,

> ...designates for each person in the organization what decision that person makes and the influences to which he is subject in making each of these decisions.[14]

This chapter, primarily, turns to the dysfunctions in a bureaucratic structure which contribute to the transformation of stated organizational goals.

Rules and regulations. Although Department personnel are afforded freedom in their operations, they appear to be bound by certain rules and regulations which constrain their effectiveness.

Specialists are often called upon to conduct in-service training with teachers; and in so doing, the specialists sometimes want to secure the services of outside consultants to assist them. From the regulation governing the procedure by which one obtains a consultant agreement is the following:[15]

> Every employment of a consultant, regardless of amount of payment, must be done by an official contract which must be approved by the Department of Finance and Administration and by the Attorney General.

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[14] Herbert Simon, Administrative Behavior (New York: MacMillan Co., 1945), p. 3.

[15] Personnel Bulletin, State Department of Education, p. 9.

An examination of consultant agreements indicated that, on the average, six weeks are required to process an order. Sometimes an undue delay results in an even longer period of time: As one of the interviewees explained, "The consultant needed his money so I paid him $50 out of my own pocket." Specialists consistently indicated that many times they wouldn't be able to notify the Department six weeks in advance that an outside consultant is necessary and consequently felt their effectiveness in the in-service was limited.

As in every organization, personnel need to purchase supplies and equipment. The State Department is no exception in this; and with the large staff of specialists, equipment for special projects and programs becomes a necessity. The personnel bulletin regulation regarding this process is as follows:

> Requisitions for all supplies and equipment shall be made in duplicate and sent to the financial office for final processing.
>
> Other items and equipment should be requisitioned six weeks prior to anticipated need and must be approved by the bureau head and the executive assistant superintendent.[16]

When the requisition is processed in the Department finance office, it is sent to the Office of Finance and Administration who, in turn, must receive three bids on the items. The bidders are allowed approximately two weeks to submit bids, but they may also then have to order the equipment item should it be out of stock. An examination of a sampling of orders which went out on bid and were received indicated that, on the average, 2.6 months was the time period for receiving an order. An examination of thirteen requisitions which had been processed but which had not been received revealed that the longest period of time for failure to receive equipment was seven months, while the shortest was four months. Although none of the supply requisitions were analyzed, interview data indicate that even small office supplies "sometimes takes as long as three months."

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[16] Personnel Bulletin.

Requests for expense money is submitted in the same procedure and usually required from three to four weeks for reimbursement. This is a serious concern for many in the Department since the continual use of expense money depletes one's personal account and actually regulates travel for some of the staff.

This, may, in part, be the reason why Department personnel appear to be spending so much of their time working in local counties rather than throughout the State. By traveling only to local counties, personnel can probably drive to and from the county in the same day, thus incurring expenses for one or two meals a day. This eliminates the expense of overnight lodging.

A further indication of the effect of rules and regulations constraining the staff is in the process of securing a car for traveling. A common response during the interviews was, "checking out cars from the State motor pool causes much delay."

An examination of responses pertaining to securing a car for travel suggested that the time necessary was from a low of "about 45 minutes" to a high of "nearly 2 hours." It appears that the amount of time indicated is related to the proximity of the office in which the person was quartered.

To determine the validity of this response, the investigator simulated the process of checking out a car. While the above couldn't be totally supported, it was obvious that if a person were located in one of the detached buildings housing Department personnel, that by the time he left his office, walked to the Capitol Building, picked up the key, and then walked to the garage to secure the car, drove back to the building, finding a parking place two blocks from the building, going back to the office for his materials, and then back to the car to get started, much valuable time could have been lost. Checking out cars in the Department appears to apply to all levels of personnel. When this involves the advisors, not only is valuable time lost; but, computed over the period of a year, it could result in a sizeable sum of money which is being paid for minutiae.

Of the eighty-nine operative personnel in the Department, 57 percent are considered as specialists in a particular field. There are those who wish to contribute to the literature in their respective areas. According to the regulation which governs publications:

> It is the policy of the State Department of Education and State Superintendent of Schools to encourage professional staff members to write articles about their work in the education fields for publication in newspapers, magazines, etc.[17]

However, the regulation continues:

> All material prepared for submission to newspapers, magazines, professional journals and any other publications will be cleared with the bureau assistant superintendent under whom the author performs his or her duties. After this approval is obtained, the material will be submitted to the Department publications branch for clearance through the executive assistant state superintendent and the state superintendent.[18]

The regulation governing publications appears to apply to only subject field specialists and those below the bureau heads. Persons occupying advisor positions appear to be able to publish articles for the Department without the prior approval of a superior. Those interviewed, however, indicated they would present the article to the superintendent for his suggestions before releasing it.

Rules and regulations governing such areas as outside consultants, supply requests, expense money, and travel appear to apply to all levels of Department personnel. However, some rules and regulations appear to apply to only certain levels of personnel.

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[17] Personnel Bulletin.

[18] Ibid.

Two middle-level administrators are spending almost full-time working on classification of elementary and secondary schools. Classification of schools is required by law and is assumed to be beneficial for accrediting purposes and especially important when a student is wishing to attend college. Unless a high school is classified by the State, a student graduating from such a school will have difficulty enrolling in the college of his choice. This premise, however, could not be validated at higher education level. Responses from higher education personnel indicated that the college establishes entrance requirements; and if the student meets those, he can enter.

Middle-level administrators seem to be bogged down in reports. Reports both to the Federal Government and to the Department are requiring excessive amounts of time. From an interview guide:

> I spend so much time on reports, I seldom visit programs in the counties. Visiting the programs is necessary if I'm to be able to plan the kinds of in-service programs which will be effective.

Completing the Department's annual report appears to be especially time consuming for middle-level personnel. The activities during the year of the administrators and various members in their Department are delineated in this report. The administrators' concern is that they are not able to see any use being made of the information, other than to complete the Annual Superintendent's Report required by law. They seem to believe that information for the Superintendent's Report could be collected in a more efficient manner.

Not only are Department personnel bogged down in writing reports, but they are asking county-level personnel for many periodic reports. These are so extensive in one bureau that a memo was sent to counties explaining the purposes and procedures for completing the "different" reports necessary.

This section has shown that excessive conformity to rules is hindering personnel effectiveness and is also regulating operations in the Department.

Lack of incentives. As a professional organization, the State Department is concerned about the specialization and training of its staff. Due to the nature of State Department work, recruitment of highly trained staff is essential to the attainment of Department objectives. Providing staff incentives would do much in attracting and holding personnel with the specialized skills necessary for functioning in the Department. However, a review of the types of incentives in the State Department revealed primarily a lack of incentives for attracting and holding staff.

It was pointed out at a recent negotiations conference that one of the antecendents responsible for the present movement in teacher militancy is inadequate compensation and that, like the poor, has been forever present.[19]

Of the 89 operative personnel employed in the Department, 57 percent are considered specialists responsible for a particular subject area. Seventy-five percent of the specialists have at least a Master's degree, and many have work beyond the Master's; but an examination of the salary of the specialists with Master's reveals the average to be $10,878 for 12 months employment. From a sampling drawn of specialists, the average age is 55 years, which would indicate somewhere in the vicinity of 25-30 years of education experience being brought to the job by each person. Thus for a Master's degree and 25 years of experience, the State Department pays an average salary of $10,878. Compared to the public school salary schedules, approximately seventeen counties would pay the same specialists more money. Table VII-A discloses information regarding the maximum salary for a Master's degree in the State. The table indicates that nine counties are paying persons holding Master's degrees a maximum salary between $7800 and $8,199, while eight counties surpass this ceiling. Twenty-five years would be considered maximum experience in the counties. Using the average of $8000 which is half-way between $7800 and $8199, with an index of 1.4 for a specialist position in a county, the specialists could conceivably receive a salary of $11,200 in seventeen or thirty-one percent of the county school systems.

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[19] Patrick Carlton, "Teacher-Administrator-Board Salary Negotiations in Oregon," in Above the Salt: Militancy in Education, ed. by Patrick Carlton and Harold I. Goodwin, College of Human Resources and Education, (Morgantown, West Virginia, 1968), p. 22.

TABLE VII-A

STATE MA MAXIMUM SALARIES ACCORDING TO NUMBER OF COUNTIES 1968-69

Salary Range	Number of Counties
$9400-9799	1
9000-9399	3
8600-8999	1
8200-8599	3
7800-8199	9
7400-7799	16
7000-7399	10
6600-6999	12
6200-6599	0
5800-6199	0

Based on 55 county schedules.

Source: Salary Schedules of Classroom Teachers, Research Report: State Education Association, July, 1968.

Thirty percent of the personnel below the bureau heads would be considered administrative, and the position highest in the hierarchy of responsibility is the position of director. Of this group, ninety-three percent have at least the Master's degree, and the average age is 48 years, which places them at the maximum experience level. The average yearly (12 months) salary for directors in the Department is $12,300. The salary for the same directors figured at an index of 1.5 could conceivably be at least $12,000 in seventeen counties. The new teacher salary increase of $1000 enacted this year could make it extremely difficult for the Department to attract personnel, especially in light of the recent decision to place the Department staff under the Board of Public Works pay scale which is similar to that of a civil service schedule. Because of this move, many of the personnel in the Department did not realize their full pay increase during the past year, although all did receive an increase. In order to compensate for the inadequate salaries, a recommendation is before the Governor to increase each Department member two steps on the pay scale instead of the traditional one. As summarized by an interview:

> We receive poor salaries in the Department. College personnel this year are considerably higher than that of State Department, but yet we are supposed to be viewed in the same light.

In addition to low salary schedules, the specialists and supervisors, as observed during interviewing, are housed, generally, two per office, in very crowded office conditions with very little working space available. Holding a confidential conference demands the exit of the other specialist. The specialists are not only faced with crowded office conditions, but an analysis of the secretarial turnover indicated that 71 secretarial changes were made in the Department during the past year. As one respondent stated:

> It seems as though I spend half my time training new secretaries.

Another very glaring deficiency in the Department is the lack of fringe benefits available to the personnel. Interview data typically suggested that Department personnel believe that in order to further one's education in resident capacity, one must resign from the job. However, section 9 of a memo dated July 1, 1968, from the Secretary of State regarding attendance and leave regulations states as follows:

> Educational Leave
>
> An agency which subsidized advanced educational training for state employees may grant educational leave to an employee selected for such training subject to conditions stipulated by the agency concerned. Such leave shall be considered as continuous employment, except that employees while on educational leave shall not accrue sick or annual leave.

It thus appears that the Department can now grant such leave, subject to Department conditions.

Department personnel have no sabbatical leave to pursue an advanced degree although a sabbatical leave policy is established by the State Board of Education. There is no hospitalization or insurance policy, of which part is paid by the Department, available to the personnel. Parenthetically, this past year, college coordinators have been removed from State retirement benefits because of a "quirk" in the law.

Interview data revealed that promotion for the subject field specialist in the Department traditionally has been rare. An analysis of the personnel files revealed that those persons occupying bureau head positions have been with the Department an average of fourteen and one-half years. Such being the case, promotions which would have occurred would have been below the bureau heads where relatively few positions have been open. However, data gleaned from the interviews revealed that although some would accept the promotions if offered, many of the subject field specialists were not concerned about being promoted. As summarized:

> To be promoted would have to go to administrative position and I would not want that.

Such Department specialists appear to be descriptive of Etzioni who states, "Most successful experts are not motivated to become administrators."[20] He further points out:

> Even those professionals who would not reject the distinguished and powerful role of organization head avoid the administrative roles that are training grounds and

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[20] Amitai Etzioni, Authority Structure and Organizational Effectiveness, Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. 4, June, 1959 - March, 1960, p. 54.

channels of mobility to these top positions.[21]

Thus, it appears for some that the subject field specialist in the Department is a career position with little or no opportunity for promotion.

The lack of incentives presented in this section such as low salary, few fringe benefits, crowded office conditions, secretarial turnover, and limited opportunity for promotion are submitted as reasons the Department is still unable to employ personnel for some of its key positions which are still vacant. In all probability, the lack of incentives will contribute to difficulty in recruiting and maintaining the highly trained personnel necessary for attaining the Department's objectives.

Incentives. Although the previous section delineates the serious deficiencies facing the Department in its effort to recruit staff, there are also attributes which exist when working in the State Department. The Department, at the present time, views itself largely as a service agency. Therefore, personnel are expected to travel throughout the State working with various school systems. The policy of travel could be an added incentive to some to join the staff for there is an opportunity to work with educators in the State as well as in other states. An analysis of travel records indicated that several of the Department personnel are involved on committees at a national level as well as locally.

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[21] Ibid.

At the August 26, 1968, meeting of the State Board of Education, the Board approved a policy which permits staff members of the Department of Education to teach classes for colleges or universities. Prior to this time, the Board policy was that appointment to the Department staff was considered a career appointment and that one's total efforts should be to the benefit of the organization.

A major effort is now being made in the Department which could be very important in the recruitment and retention of staff. A recent survey of the Department staff indicated a high degree of interest "especially by the younger members of the Department"[22] in pursuing additional graduate credits and degrees. Using those results, Department officials are attempting to work out agreements with the State universities to the effect that Department personnel be extended the same courtesy as extended to faculty members of the State colleges: that of taking graduate courses from either or both of the State-supported universities with a waiver of tuition. A recommendation to continue those members on leave at the regular salary is also part of the program.[23] This could be a major contribution in the recruitment of staff.

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[22] Internal memo to Superintendent pertaining to academic course work or degrees by members of the State Department staff, December 17, 1968.

[23] _Ibid._

Legal constraints. Most legislators are interested in improving the quality of education in the State. As one of the legislators stated during an interview, "Education usually receives top priority in the minds of legislators." Actions by the legislature are intended to result in improved educational programs in the State; and the legislature, as a group, is probably the most crucial assembly in determining what takes place in the State educational system. For, before educators can act, legislators must first establish the framework within which the activities will be carried out. However, with all the good intentions of past and present legislators, the Education Code which was initially intended as a means for "providing for a thorough and efficient system of free schools," has in essence become the system itself. The detailed specifications in the Education Code have not provided for the "efficient system of free schools", but rather have provided needless constraints which hinder the development of a "thorough and efficient system of free schools."

It is not the purpose of this study to make a detailed analysis as to the pros and cons of all the provisions provided by the Code, but it is the purpose to cite a few specific examples which serve as restrictions in providing "for a thorough and efficient system of free schools." Although the restrictions may not apply directly to the Department, they are important to the attainment of Department goals and show the constraints under which the Department must function in developing education in the State.

One of the five areas (see Appendix B) of the Department's stated goals concerns provisions for providing better school facilities in the State. However, the Tax Limitation Amendment passed in order to relieve property owners of oppressive tax burdens limits the counties in their ability to acquire necessary funds for school improvement. A goal in the finance area of the stated goals is for passage of school bonds on the basis of a simple majority. The present restriction of 60% voter approval for school bonds not only prevents attainment of the goal, but places further restrictions on educators in the State in their attempt to improve education programs. A study of the levies attempted during the past twelve months revealed that ten levies have failed to gain the necessary 60 percent favorable vote, although each levy received over 50 percent positive vote.

Textbooks. During the time legislation was enacted which provided for a standardized textbook list from which counties would choose their books, the mode of instruction was (1) a single classroom and (2) a single textbook. At that time, standardizing textbooks throughout the State so that a student transferring from one part of the State to another would have the same text, was educationally sound, since it was considered the only tool available for the teacher Research has shown us that children learn at different rates and cannot be standardized but in contrast must have a variety of methods available.

Improvements in the instructional program in the past ten years have now changed the nature of instructing children. Individualized instruction, team teaching, computer-assisted instruction, free study time, etc., have required that a variety of different kinds of materials be available for the student of which may or may not be a textbook. When the State Department, by law, sends out a State adopted textbook list, most counties will adopt from the list; for, by law, they are required to do so. Chapter 18, Article 2A, Section 5 of the code states as follows:

> The county board of education shall....select from the State multiple list one book or series of books for each subject and grade to be used as exclusive basal in the county for a period of four years.

Chapter 18, Article 2A, Section 8 of the code is as follows:

> No textbook shall be used in any public elementary school in ____ as a basal textbook unless it has been approved and listed on the State multiple list of textbooks by the State Board of Education.

The problem presented by official adoption of textbooks also pertains to specialists and their work in counties. A complaint of some of the specialists is that county programs are centered around those textbooks adopted by the counties.

This often hinders specialists from being able to convince county personnel of the importance of new and different programs which may require the use of a diversity of materials rather than the use of one text.

Planning. One of the criticisms being leveled at school systems and state departments of education in the past five years has been the lack of long-range planning. In 1966, the State Department established a planning office with an objective being to develop long-range state-wide programs of education. In light of the Code, long-range planning can only be interpreted to mean from fiscal year to fiscal year. An opinion from the attorney general supports this point: Chapter 11, Article 8, Section 27, makes any contract entered into which expends money of a following year void. From the case of Ireland Vs. Board of Education, 1934, the Supreme Court has clearly expressed the purpose of this statute.

> ...The underlying purpose of the statute is to prevent the incurring of obligations which can be met only out of funds to be realized from levies of a subsequent year.[24]

The restriction of the ruling by the Supreme Court prevents serious long-range planning because of the inability to expend subsequent monies for personnel, materials, etc. Thus, serious planning is actually restricted to a yearly basis.

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[24] Fiftieth Biennial Report and Opinions, Attorney General Opinions, July 1, 1962 - June 30, 1964, pp. 167-168.

Fiscal control. As a result of the Tax Limitation Amendment, it became increasingly necessary for the State to increase its financing of the public schools to the amount that in 1938-39 fifty-five percent of the total expended by county boards for the operation of schools was from State funds. In light of the investment, the State became interested in "the sound and stable management of the financial affairs of county school districts so that the maximum effectiveness of education may be obtained from the expenditure of the limited funds available."[25] Consequently, in 1939 the State created the Board of School Finance. Because of the era and the limited staff of the Department, the creation of a Board to manage the financial affairs of the State appeared to be a wide decision. The times have changed; in essence, to control finance, is to control education in the State. Giving the fiscal control to a separate agency restricts the Board of Education from carrying out the powers given to it in Chapter 18, Article 2, Section 5 of the Code for determining the educational policies of the State.

A USOE study in 1967 recommended that financial responsibilities pertaining to education be given to the State Department of Education. In light of a recent systems approach to planning and assessment initiated by the Department, control of fiscal operations by another agency may, in fact, restrict such an approach to determining the cost-benefit of various educational programs.

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[25] School Laws, 1967, Reprinted from Code, 1967, pp. 178-179.

A recent shifting of office personnel in the Department indicated that the personnel who seemed to gain more office space were those working in the Board of School Finance Office. Although the reason for this move could not be determined, it seems to imply either one or two things. The Department is orienting itself to incorporation of the Board of Finance and wants to make it an integral part of the agency or the Board of School Finance will remain outside the Department and someone has influenced the Department administration of its need for more space.

The evidence presented strongly suggests that educators in the State and in the State Department are restricted in providing "for a thorough and efficient system of free schools." None restricts the educators more than:

> the well-settled principle of statutory construction in this State that a county board of education may exercise only those powers which are expressly conferred by statute or which may fairly arise by necessary implications.[26]

This ruling also applies to the Department and restricts Department operations only to those powers implied in the statutes.

The Education Code which was originally conceived as a means through which the Department could provide for an efficient system of schools has, in effect, become the end itself. The legal requirements appear to restrict Department personnel in realizing the goals of the organization.

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[26] Fifty-first Biennial Report and Opinions, Attorney General, July 1, 1964 - June, 30, 1966, p. 179.

Decision making. Two models of decision making, the rational comprehensive and the successive-limited comparison, were contrasted by Lindblom. The rational comprehensive method is highly rooted in theory and not practical for use in public agencies. Lindblom cites reasons for not using the rational comprehensive method. He points to the impossibility of listing all the widely accepted values as well as all the policy alternatives involved. Lindblom claims that because public agencies have prescribed functions and constraints which restrict their attention to relatively few values and relatively few alternative policies that they not practice the rational model. He claims, however, that the successive limited comparison model is practiced in public agencies. This method focuses on the comparison of previous experiences. It analyzes values by giving attention to the small differences between alternative policies rather than by studying all the alternatives which are available. The test of "good policy" in the successive limited comparison method is the agreement on the policy itself which is possible even when agreement on values is not.[27]

Although a precise study of the decision making process in the Department wasn't undertaken, it would appear that the incremental approach advocated by Lindblom applies.

To illustrate this approach, during the recent CEP revision, various groups were established to study and recommend programs in respective areas. Groups presented their recommendations for acceptance. The recommendations were then discussed and choices were made to determine what part of a particular recommendation was worth sacrificing to achieve the designated value.

Lindblom refers to this technique as the marginal dependent choice.[28] A restricted number of policy alternatives were considered; and, as a result, there ensued a restricted number of consequences.[29] Lindblom's rationale for the approach are (1) man's limited capacity to conceptualize all alternatives and consequences necessary for complex decisions, (2) the inadequacy of large amounts of information, and (3) the costliness of complete analysis.[30]

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[27] David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindblom, A Strategy of Decisions (Glencoe: Free Press, 1963), pp. 81-110.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid., pp. 37-57.

Upon acceptance of particular recommendations, members then continued to work with their respective groups for further analysis and recommendations. The process will eventually lead to a concluding choice regarding the policy. Lindblom terms this procedure a serial analysis and evaluation.[31]

This approach is also apparently used by the cabinet. This was evidenced in the present Department reorganization plan. The administration appeared to be implementing the plan in a step-by-step procedure. After much discussion of alternatives, a recent step was taken to create an assessment office utilizing present Department personnel. The assessment office is part of the reorganization plan. The major reorganization is still being discussed and has yet to be undertaken.

The above describes the method which appears to be used in decision making in the Department. The remainder of this section turns to the locus of decision making.

The State Department is a professional organization; and, as such, fifty-seven percent of the staff consist of subject field specialists trained in a specific area. As specialists, they possess special competencies in various areas and could contribute pertinent information when decisions regarding programs are made. With such a variety of specialists, it is unlikely that administrators in the Department could be knowledgeable in all the professional areas which are reporting to them. It would seem logical to conclude that administrators would utilize the expertise of specialists in their decisions, since involvement of staff in the decisions is one way of obtaining a commitment to the results of the decision. However, interview data suggest that most of the decisions made in the Department are made by the top-level administrators. Common replies to the question of decision making were:

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[31] Ibid., pp. 81-110.

> Bureau heads and cabinet make decisions in the Department.
>
> Cabinet makes decisions.
>
> Cabinet is decision-maker of the Department.
>
> Administrators fail to consult program specialists when making decisions regarding particular programs.

As Likert points out:

> The tighter the control in the organization in the sense that decisions are made at the top and orders flow down, the greater there tends to be the hostility between subordinates.[32]

It would seem logical to conclude then that in this type of decision making, there will be little commitment to the results. As Simon conclusively asserts:

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[32] Rensis Likert, "A Motivational Approach to a Modified Theory of Organization and Management," ed. by Mason Haire in Modern Organization Theory (New York: John Wiley and Sons., 1959), p. 196.

> Significant changes in human behavior can be brought about rapidly only if the persons who are expected to change participate in deciding what the change shall be and how it shall be made.[33]

Prior to the recent CEP revision, lower-level personnel had little involvement in decision making in the Department. The primary decision making body in the State Department is the cabinet. This group basically makes all major decisions. For example, the recent decision to revise CEP was made by the cabinet. They also made the decision to involve the staff in the revision. The decision to implement a management-information system in the Department was made by the cabinet and; in this case, lower staff members were not involved. Consequently, there appears to be little support for the system by those personnel below the bureau chiefs.

Decisions made by specialists are for the most part minor ones and generally have restrictions on them. Specialists can, for example, reply positively to a request by a county to serve as a consultant; however, this is dependent upon having their travel request approved. When working in the county, they again are constrained since, by and large, they only advise county personnel rather than initiate programs of their own. Other than the recent involvement in the CEP revision, specialists appear to be involved very little in the decision making process. This appears to be different from Etzioni's assertion that in professional organizations, administrators are in charge of secondary activities and that functionally speaking, the responsibility for the final decision rests with the various professionals and their decision making bodies such as committees.[34]

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[33] James G. March (ed.), Handbook of Organizations (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1965), p. 117.

As indicated in the methodology chapter, when the investigator reinterviewed some of the personnel, he found a change in the responses to a particular question: that of staff involvement in program planning. A brief reiteration is necessary.

The original CEP program was initially conceptualized by the administrative staff in 1963. At that time, many of the program specialists in the Department were not employed since 59 percent of the Department staff has been employed within the last three years. The program thus was viewed in two ways:

1. A mechanism by which county administrators could receive more money.
2. Guidelines to program rather than an actual program by which teaching personnel could upgrade their own programs.

Early interview data appeared to reveal little commitment to the program by Department staff. The following response summarizes the replies concerning the CEP program.

"CEP just isn't doing the job."

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[34] Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey - Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 81-82.

This was the prevailing response during the initial interviews conducted in October and November, 1968. However, at the time this investigator met with the cabinet to discuss details for the study, the administrative staff were beginning to take a new look at the CEP program involving the total staff.

The personnel were involved in various planning groups in their specific areas as well as with administrative groups for the purposes of redefining the objectives and planning for the evaluation of the program as illustrated by the following response:

> There is a definite awareness and acceptance by staff to redefine the goals. The revision was stimulated by specialists through bureau heads then to the superintendent. There are few people here who were here when CEP originated. It was very difficult and was not doing the job. It needs revised.

The chairman of a particular group succinctly put forth the following:

> We want a program which will really do the job over the State.

Over the time of about four months, a complete change in responses was obtained because administrators effectively began to involve the total staff in the planning and decision toward a common objective. The responses by specialists after being involved in the decision of CEP revision appeared to indicate commitment to the Department goal of CEP. However, since the investigator terminated research in the Department while the revision of CEP was still in the process, it is not within the confines of this study to determine if the commitment to the goal will continue.

This section presented the decision making process in the Department. The practical approach of incrementalism appears to be used by Department personnel in this process. Through this approach Department members focus on previous experience and small differences between alternative policies before making the decision and appears to be a practical method in light of man's limited capacity to have all the knowledge necessary for complex decisions. Decisions made at the top of the hierarchy appear to have resulted in little commitment to Department objectives.

Summary. This chapter presented factors in the State Department which, in part, hindered the organization in attaining its goals. Conformity to rules and regulations appeared to be regulating Department operations. The rules, instead of serving as means, appeared to be the ends.

Few incentives were available to Department personnel. This has produced difficulty in recruitment of personnel for some key positions. Low salaries, few fringe benefits, little chance for promotion were some of the factors contributing to this difficulty.

The Education Code which was conceived as a means to supplying a thorough and efficient system of free schools appeared to be serving as the system itself. Restrictions in the Code were regulating education programs and hindering Department personnel from attaining objectives.

Decision making at the top of the hierarchy appeared to have caused lower-level personnel not involved in the decision making to have little commitment to Department objectives. Recent CEP revision was an attempt by the Department to involve staff in decision making and has apparently gained commitment to the CEP goal.

The mechanisms of rules and regulations, lack of incentives, legal constraints, and decision making which determined the concept of bureaucracy, led to organizational behavior which fostered goal transformation in the organization.

CHAPTER VI

ACCOUNTABILITY

Holding personnel accountable for their specific responsibilities becomes an important administrative task in a large professional organization. Etzioni has stated that "only the naive, inexperienced administrator would assume that orders properly issued will, as a rule, be properly carried out."[1] Therefore, a constant need arises to provide mechanisms of control to check on the fulfillment of orders or policies and to hold personnel accountable for such policies. Accountability is defined as "...those methods, procedures, and forces that determine what values will be reflected in administrative decisions.[2] In essence, accountability becomes the enforcement of responsibility.[3] Etzioni points out that although accountability is likely to increase efficiency, it also often produces tensions.[4]

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[1] Amitai Etzioni, *Modern Organizations* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 25.

[2] Herbert Simon, *et al.*, *Public Administration* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), p. 513.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Etzioni, *loc. cit.*

For a person to be held accountable for specific activities, such activities need to be clearly defined. Unless such activities are clearly put forth, the person is likely to operate with conflicting objectives.[5] Morphet adds a dimension in stating, "It is demoralizing to the individual and destructive to the productivity of the organization to have individuals uncertain of their duties."[6]

The attainment of goals in an organization requires modes of control appropriate to the goals and also to the characteristics of the participants.[7] In light of the increased number of professionals being employed in large organizations, such control poses the dilemma of control by professional groups versus the administrative control of the organization. The organization experiences this dilemma as one between the need for professional work to be directed by those who can exercise competent judgment and the organization's need to coordinate the work with other activities that will contribute to the goals of the organization. The profession experiences the dilemma as one between preserving its self-government in the face of administrative control versus adapting to the organization within which its members are employed.[8] Thus, it can be seen that in a professional organization, the freedom and competencies of the professional and the administrative control of the organization can be in conflict, making accountability a very difficult administrative task.

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[5] Edgar Morphet, Educational Organization and Administration (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 94.

[6] Ibid., p. 95.

[7] William Kornhauser, Scientists in Industry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), p. 80.

Informal Accountability

An important element in the functional operation of the State Department is the procedure emphasized to determine if the policies established by the legislature and the Department are carried out by the organization members. One way of meeting control problems is to assign to specialized administrative units the functions of enforcing policies that lie within their particular area of specialization.[9] An examination of the superintendent's report[10] revealed that this is apparently the administrative procedure in the Department; that is, each bureau is responsible for certain functions germane to its membership. Interview data suggested that various methods of evaluation are employed by the administration to determine how such activities are being carried out. With the exception of one bureau, most of the methods employed would be considered informal. Such methods as checking travel records and receiving county feedback appeared to be common means of evaluation. When replies to the question, "How are you evaluated?" were analyzed, the consistent responses were:

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[8] Ibid., pp. 80-83.

[9] Simon, _et al._, _op.cit._

[10] State Superintendent of Free Schools, Fifty-Fifth Report, July 1, 1967, to June 30, 1968. State Department Publication.

> Don't really know how. We are free to work as necessary. But I know ---- knows what I'm doing.
>
> ---- gets his feedback from the county personnel on how we're doing.

Such responses seem to indicate an organization which allows personnel freedom in their operation and evaluates them informally.

The informal means of evaluation as county feedback and analyzing travel records may explain why county personnel are spending so much of their travel time in local counties. By taking the shorter trips, less time is involved, which permits more visits by Department personnel. This situation allows more opportunity for feedback from the counties. The informal procedures for evaluating personnel may also have the effect of encouraging Department personnel to play a submissive role in the counties since feedback will more than likely be more positive if staff assume a subordinate role. This approach may lead to the restriction of implementation of Department objectives in the county. Blau's finding supports this analysis. He found that personnel tended to work in line with the methods used to evaluate them.[11]

The informal approach to accounting for the behavior of personnel seems similar to a reaction to the human relations approach to administration in that the development of permissiveness was highly emphasized. Out of this reaction, teachers were assumed to be self-directing professional people who were highly trained and who supposedly did not require superordinate direction in their work. Teachers were thus permitted to establish their own goals with the group as primary in determining which direction they were to proceed. Teachers were encouraged to grow according to their own personalities.[12]

The Department, on the one hand, has a group of professionals who are governed by abstract rules and who feel as one stated, "We are hired to assume responsibility and initiative and cannot rely on people over us to guide us."; and, on the other hand is an organization responsible for carrying out policies established by the legislature and applying only informal evaluations in its operations.

One of the reasons for not having a formal system of evaluation in the Department may have reference to Argyris' principle that the individual's personal needs are incompatible with the demands of a formal organization.[13] He points out that the needs of a healthy personality move along a continuum from passivity to activity, dependence to independence, behavior with little flexibility to complete flexibility, short-interest span to complete engrossment and an endless series of challenges, short-time perspective to longer-time perspective of adults, complete subordination to superordination as an adult, and from lack of awareness to awareness and control of adult.[14]

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[11] Peter Blau, Dynamics of Bureaucracy (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 116.

[12] NEA Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, Leadership at Work, Fifteenth Yearbook (Washington, D. C., 1943), pp. 28-29.

By contrast, formal organizations are characterized by conditions which are in direct conflict to such development. Such organizational characteristics as chain of command, task specialization, management controls, rules and regulations, and other controlling devices are repressive to the needs of the individual.[15] The resulting behavior is "individualism" which is a defense mechanism relieving the frustration caused by the controlling nature of the organization.

Regardless of the incompatible characteristics which exist between the individual and an organization, when a professional staff member accepts employment in a formal organization, a contractual relationship exists which involves the normative[16] responsibilities of the individual, in this study, considered to be the professional rights of the specialist. In the Department, these rights are observed when the subject field specialists are able to plan their own program without administrative interference. Such responsibilities are evidenced when the bureau head sends the specialist to a county to assist county personnel in developing a program. While in the county, the specialist is also delegated with the responsibility of representing the State Department.

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[13] Chris Argyris, Personality and Organization (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957).

[14] Ibid., pp. 50-51.

[15] Ibid., pp. 233-235.

As has been established, the professionals in the State Department are evaluated, for the most part, on an informal basis which appears to be predicated on the premise that professionals know what to do and need no formal evaluation.

Informal means of evaluation tend to proliferate the lack of accountability in the Department. Other factors, also, appear to contribute to the problem. This chapter turns to those factors.

"Ghost" rules. One of the principles of administration is that "the organization should provide for the definition of the role of each individual.[17] A person needs to know what his duties are and what is expected of him whether he be a professional with specialized skills or a non-professional. As Morphet so suggests, "....he will not be an effective member of the organization unless he knows what his obligations are."[18] Clarification of personnel operations is important if Department personnel are to work toward stated objectives. An investigation of the day-to-day operating procedures in the Department indicated that "ghost" policies often direct the operations; that is, a policy which has never been clearly defined but seems to be directing the operation or in other cases operating from one frame of reference when an established policy indicates another. Selznick has illustrated the point:

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[16] Etzioni, _op. cit._, pp. 59-61.

> The absence of controlling aims forces decisions to be made in response to immediate pressures.[19]

One of the policies in the Department which appears to be unclear is the policy as to how personnel should operate relative to admission into county school systems. Should they initiate the action and go into the counties on their own to develop programs or should they wait until a county seeks help for a particular program? The investigator could find no established policy which would reflect an answer to the question. From interviews:

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[17] Morphet, et al., op. cit., p. 94.

[18] Ibid., p. 95.

[19] Philip Selznick, Leadership in Administration (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1957), pp. 143-144.

> The prevailing philosophy appears to be that specialists are to serve as consultants and go into counties only when asked rather than initiate the action themselves.
>
> Tradition primarily establishes operating procedures in the Department. Most staff still operate on the premise of wait until asked before going into a county. There is no stated policy on this, the procedure developed when staff was very limited in number.
>
> I go on my own rather than wait until asked.

Department personnel operate differently regarding this important function. If a specialist is in a county only at a county's request, he may operate entirely different than if he were there because of his own initiative. Likewise, no policy was found which gave direction as to whether a specialist should be working on a regional basis or in individual counties. An investigation of newsletters in the public information office indicated that the regional operation is becoming more prevalent.

Reference was made in a previous section reporting the lack of incentives that Department personnel did not have the benefit of sabbatical leave for educational purposes. An examination of the State Board policies indicated that the Board has a sabbatical leave policy and that, at the present time, it is being applied to the personnel in higher education.[20] As stated in the policy, the purpose to be achieved during leave is as follows:

> "to improve the scholastic qualifications of the faculty member."[21]

The sabbatical leave can be acquired only after a service of at least six years in the Department. As of January 1, 1965, the Board established a policy pertaining to leaves of absence without pay for the purpose of furthering scholastic qualifications toward an advanced degree.

While interviewing certain personnel, this investigator was informed that a certain Department was unable to employ a person with a doctorate because he did not have five years experience. The investigator could find no stated policy governing such action and interview data suggested that the Board had no such policy.

Individualized instruction, team teaching, computer-assisted instruction, and other innovations in education are increasingly placing new demands on teacher preparation and certification. The Department has moved to streamline certification procedures by adopting the "approved programs" approach to teacher education. Under this approach, institutions of higher education submit their programs of teacher education to the Department for approval. Once the programs have been approved by the Department, it is assumed that any student who completes the program and is recommended for certification can be certified. This should free the Department staff from checking applications for all those students graduating from in-state institutions[22] and should allow the staff more time for checking out-of-state applications and working toward Department goals. Observation of the operation appeared to indicate that the old policy of checking individual applications from in-state institutions is still consuming much of the staff's time even though all institutions of higher education in the State have had their programs approved by the Department.

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[20] State Board of Education Minutes, June 20, 1950.

[21] Ibid.

This section presented evidence that operating policies in the Department are not clearly defined. Such ambiguity creates a condition unconducive to the concept of accountability and restricts coordination of activities toward Department objectives.

Organizational fragmentation. The section on the State Board of Education in this report reveals that the Board is the legal body for establishing policies in the public school system in the State. Prior to the legislative session of 1969, the State Board also had the responsibility for policies in higher education with the exception of one of the State universities whose policies were under the jurisdiction of a Board of Governors. As a result of this overloading of activities, it was shown that most of the items appearing on the meeting agendas of the State Board pertained to higher education rather than to public school education. However, the legislature in the State has recently passed a bill which creates a Board of Regents for higher education and frees the State Board to work with the policies of public school education. Prior to the creation of the Board of Regents, the State Board of Education had the following agencies reporting directly[23] (1) public colleges and universities, (2) State Department of Education, (3) Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, (4) Division of Vocational Education, and (5) Schools for Deaf and Blind.

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[22] A bill is being presented to this legislature to apply the same principle of liscensure of teachers to four surrounding states. This would establish automatic certification in the four states once the student was certified.

The variety of agencies responsible for segments of the educational program in the State, which report directly to the State Board of Education, has resulted in a fragmented organization at the State level. With such fragmentation, accounting for education development in the State becomes very difficult since no one agency is responsible and, more important, that the attainment of objectives of one agency will by design be dependent upon the activities of another separate agency.

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[23] State Board of Education Minutes, April 22, 1968. Members of the Board meet as a separate Board when dealing with Vocational Rehabilitation business.

This section discusses the factors contributing to fragmented operations in the Department making accountability very difficult.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 designates the State Board as the sole agency for administration of the State plan, or the agency for supervision of the administration thereof by local educational agencies.[24] By doing so, the act has contributed to fragmented administration by the State Department of Education for which it can hardly be held accountable. Such fragmentation was recognized when a specific study was conducted[25] in the Department; and at that time, a recommendation was made to bring the vocational bureau under the wing of the State Department.

Similar findings and recommendations were made in the USOE review of the Department. This writer observed that an effort is being made by administrators in the Department to incorporate the Vocational Bureau. The bureau head attends all cabinet meetings and attends meetings with other bureau heads, etc. Other activities such as bringing the vocational finance office and the vocational research unit under the Department, as well as incorporating the activities of personnel below the bureau head, have had little success.

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[24] Vocational Education Act of 1963, Section 5(a)1, State Plans, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963).

[25] State Department of Education, The Plan for Organization, Administration and Services, January 15, 1967.

Chapter 18, Article 10A, Section 2 of the Code provides for the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation as follows:

> ....the State Board of Education is hereby designated as the State Board of Vocational Education. ....there is hereby established in the State Board of Vocational Education a division of Vocational Rehabilitation.[26]

Chapter 18, Article 10A, Section 3 provides for the operation of the division director as follows:

> The division shall be administered, under the general supervision and direction of the State Board, by a director appointed by such Board.[27]

The Code has thus contributed to fragmented administration since by statute the Director of Vocational Rehabilitation reports directly to the State Board.

The Schools for the Deaf and Blind, according to the study of the USOE, was placed under the State Department. However, it has since been removed from Department control and placed under the control of the State Board[28] which is in accordance with Chapter 18, Article 17, Section 1 of the Code. It is as follows:

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[26] Education Code.

[27] Ibid.

[28] State Board of Education Minutes, October 19-20, 1967.

> The educational or business affairs of the schools shall be under the control, supervision, and management of the State Board of Education.

No further discussion will be presented pertaining to the above fragmented operations since studies[29] by various agencies have found and made recommendations to rectify the conditions.

Scalar chain. According to Fayol's Scalar chain of authority,[30] the line of authority is followed for all communications which emanate from or advance to the ultimate authority. The principle of the chain is such that if a person in department "A" wanted to communicate with a person in department "B", he must proceed up the chain to the head of department "A" and then to the person in department "B". Etzioni has stated that in professional organizations, there seems to be no line in this sense.[31] Etzioni's statement, in part, applies to the professional staff in the Department. When a person in bureau "A" wants to communicate with a person in bureau "B", who is of the same hierarchical position or when the person is seeking professional advice from one of the advisors, the Etzioni statement applies. The scalar chain applies to all bureaus when the person in bureau "A" wants to communicate to one of the other bureau heads or to the superintendents. When either of these two is involved, the following exists:

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[29] See USOE Review of State Department of Education.

[30] Henri Fayol, General and Industrial Management, Translated by Constance Stors (New York: Pitman Publishing Corporation, 1949), pp. 33-34.

[31] Etzioni, op. cit., p. 86.

> I go to my bureau head first; then if he recommends, I go to bureau head I want to see.

The process, although it would appear to keep matters of operation within the respective bureaus, tends to cause a conflict within the bureau. This is evidenced from an interview guide:

> I have little control over the specialists. They go directly to the bureau head, and I never know what they are doing.

By and large, personnel are going directly to the bureau head and with exception of one bureau are not only overloading him with individual requests but are bypassing middle-level administrators in the process. The middle-level administrators in the Department have been assigned responsibilities of accounting for certain activities within the bureaus. Because the specialists continually bypass these people, the middle-level administrators find they are unable to account for what has taken place in the respective areas.

Whenever a subordinate is under the direction of more than one superordinate, he tends to become confused since his responsibilities will then be unclear. One of the earliest principles of administration, generally recognized as being necessary for effectiveness in an organization, is that an organization may have a number of leaders, but one of these leaders must serve as the coordinating head of the group.[32] Division of central leadership prevents the coordination of its activities in the organization and, recognizing the principle, becomes increasingly important as the organization grows. As Morphet illustrates:

> Despite the fact that numerous experiments in divided central executive leadership have failed, proposals are still being advanced to provide an organization with two executive heads.[33]

Morphet also declares that numerous attempts at such have been employed in educational administration and that, invariably, the experiments have resulted in friction and in the failure of the organization to obtain its objectives.[34] As Fayol states, "For any action whatsoever, an employee should receive orders from one superior only."[35]

The relationship of two superordinates to one subordinate is in evidence in the Department. A recently established Vocational Research Coordinating unit is housed in a university within proximity of the Department. The following gives information concerning the administrative structure of the unit.

> "...the unit coordinator and the research coordinating unit are responsible to the State Director of Vocational

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[32] Morphet, op. cit., p. 94.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Fayol, op. cit., p. 24.

Education through the deal of the college."[36]

One of the offices within the Department has recently been reorganized and now has two directors with various personnel reporting to each. Likewise, the college coordinators located in various state colleges experience the same situation. From a recent job announcement:

> The coordinator....works under the director of the Assistant State Superintendent of Schools and the Presidean and Dean of the college to which he is assigned.[37]

Professionalism. Professionals have increasingly begun to join the staffs of large complex organizations. Corey reports that salaried professionals have increased thirty times between 1870 and 1940; and at the same time, the independent professional has increased at a much lesser rate. The tremendous growth in membership, according to Corey, has seen a shift in its relationship to the organization. Until recently, the professional was thought of as the independent practitioner and the professional group was composed chiefly of the traditional professions--physicians and lawyers. However, in recent years, these old professions have made their ways into the salaried positions of organizations. Likewise, new professionals--librarians, social workers, teachers--have almost all cast their lot with organizations and make up a large portion of the high percentage in growth of the professions.[38]

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[36] H. Peter Marshall, Notes on Vocational and Technical Education (Morgantown, West Virginia University), October 6, 1967.

[37] Department job announcement.

Basic elements of professionalism seem to have much in common with those of a bureaucracy. Blau compared certain underlying characteristics of professionalism to those of the bureaucratic organization. He focused his comparison on principles rather than on specific practices. He points to the following principles as being common to both institutional patterns.

1. Governed by abstract rules.
2. Possess specificity of expertness, the professional by training and the bureaucrat by definition.
3. Foster objective and impersonal relationships with clients.
4. Achieve status on basis of technical qualifications and outstanding performance.[39]

Though it is concluded that there are principles common to both professionalism and bureaucracy, there is, however, a difference between the control structure of the professional and that of the organization. It has long been recognized that the control structure of professionalism is in direct contrast to that of the bureaucracy.

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[38] Lewis Corey, "Problems of the Peace: IV the Middle Class," *Antioch Review*, 5, 1945, pp. 70-75.

[39] Peter Blau and W. Richard Scott, *Formal Organizations* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 60-63.

The professional prefers his performance to be controlled by self-imposed standards and peer-group evaluation rather than directives received from superiors as is the source of discipline within a bureaucracy.[40] This attitude originates from the collegial relationship of the professional which has two aspects: (1) the arduous training period required to gain the body of knowledge and (2) those ratings by peers based on ethical codes of their respective association. Etzioni calls these two aspects normative compliance.[41] He notes that normative power will tend to generate more commitment and is based on acceptance. He contends that normative power is predominant in such agencies as universities and schools.[42]

Two patterns of institutional characteristics are observed in the State Department; that is, the professional's way of life and the bureaucratic form of organizational administration. Specifically, the Department appears to have two types of professionals employed; those who are committed to Department objectives and those who are committed to their professional association objectives. A respondent's statement corroborates the latter:

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[40] *Ibid.*, p. 63.

[41] Amitai Etzioni, *Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1961), pp. 14, 51.

[42] Etzioni, *Modern Organizations*, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

> "I can't really become concerned with what the rest of the staff does because so much time is necessary to develop my own area."

The effect of this professional identification tends to create what Reissman has labeled the "functional bureaucrat"[43] and sees this person as one "who is oriented toward and seeks his recognition from a given professional group outside of, rather than within, the bureaucracy."[44] These professionals have been identified by Wilensky as those who would seek positions where their skills and knowledge would enhance their own opportunity.[45]

Contributing to this dilemma of Department versus association objectives is the increase in the size of staff and the ensuing problems which accompany such growth. The growth of the Department during the past fifty years has resulted in a sizeable increase in the number of professional staff.

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[43] Leonard Reissman, "A Study in Role Conceptions in Bureaucracy," Social Forces, Vol. 27, 1949, p. 308.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Harold Wilensky, Intellectuals in Labor Unions (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956), pp. 129-144.

The Department staff increased from a superintendent and 10 assistants in 1920[46] to the present staff, excluding secretarial help, of 101 members. An analysis of the State Department staff revealed that of the 101 employees, sixty-seven percent have acquired the Master's degree, eighteen percent hold the Bachelor's degree, eleven percent have earned the Doctorate and only five percent have not completed a degree. Non-degree people are not employed in subject areas but are in positions which require expertise in a particular speciality.

Consistent responses to the question, "How are you evaluated?" were:

> Don't really know. We are free to work as necessary. But I know ---- knows what I'm doing.
>
> ---- gets his feedback from the county personnel on how we're doing.

These responses indicate an organization which allows personnel freedom in their operations and evaluates them informally. With such a large number of professionals employed with the freedom to work as they see necessary, accounting for their activities as they related to Department objectives becomes very difficult.

Holding professional staff members in an organization accountable for specific activities is an increasing problem. Professionals in the

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[46] Department History.

Department are employed as persons with specific competencies in a particular area of training. For the most part, they are hired to serve as consultants to counties. Accounting for these competencies becomes very difficult. Attempting to evaluate programs in a county in respect to the competencies of the specialist is a complex task. Many variables, such as structure of the school system, the resources available, the personnel involved, complicate any evaluation procedure utilized. Morphet alludes to the problem. He states:

> The instruments available for the evaluation of the nonmaterial products of the educational system are far less precise. This does not relieve the educational system of the necessity for evaluation. It only makes the problem more difficult.[47]

A structured supervision program may be a means of holding professionals in the Department accountable, but such an approach may have detrimental effects. Today, many enticing positions, in the State and elsewhere, are available for those trained in speciality areas. This demand for professionals is creating a problem in recruitment. The imposition of a close supervisory program, coupled with the low salaries which was cited under the mechanism of lack of incentives, may encourage professional personnel to seek positions elsewhere.

As was pointed out, there are also professionals in the Department who, although highly professionalized, appear to want to be committed to Department objectives and are looking toward the administration to pull them together to function toward specific objectives. As summarized by an interview:

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[47] Morphet, et al., op. cit., p. 98.

> We never plan together in order to make total impact on the State. Everyone is just pushing his own area.

Thus, The Department has on the one hand a group of professionals more inclined to pursue professional association objectives than the Department's; and on the other hand, a group looking to the administration to pull them together to function toward specific objectives of the Department.

Professionals in the State Department experience the same conflicts as do those in other bureaucratic organizations. Interview data suggested that subject field specialists employed in the Department experience another type of conflict; that is, the amount of authority they may exert over personnel in the public schools. The policy, by and large, of the State Department is for the specialist to serve only as a consultant to the public schools. As pointed out:

> We are only supposed to stay in the background and help county people with what they ask for rather than initiate new programs.

It has been pointed out under the mechanism of authority that specialists could exert authority over public school personnel on the basis of expertise and acceptance. Blau and Scott suggest that the supervisor's ability to help subordinates solve intricate problems commands their respect. Furthermore, the supervisor's willingness to furnish help and do favors for the subordinates commands their allegiance which will be shared by a consensus of the group. Once the norm of respect and loyalty are established, they are enforced by the group because all members might suffer if some individuals failed to repay their obligations to the supervisor or superior. Blau and Scott concluded with a succinct statement which implicitly supports the view that specialists can exert authority on the basis of expertise and acceptance. They state: "These values legitimate the extention of the supervisor's authority beyond the legally prescribed limits."[48]

The relationship of Department specialists to county personnel becomes important to the Department when accounting for personnel activities toward Department objectives. If specialists view themselves as having little authority over county personnel and perceive their responsibilities from the image of a consultant, they may not initiate new programs in counties in line with Department objectives. The specialists tend to wait until asked before going to counties and, while there, serve as only an advisor in the subject area desired. This may encourage counties to work toward local objectives rather than toward the Department's. From a representative interview guide:

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[48] Peter Blau and L. Richard Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

> "We go to counties but can only advise them on what they want to do, not on what we think is best."

However, if specialists had the authority to initiate programs, indications are that they would tend to implement programs more in line with Department objectives.

Summary. The mechanisms of ghost rules, organizational fragmentation, professionalism, and scalar chain of authority constituted the concept of accountability. Accountability is defined as "...those methods, procedures, and forces that determine what values will be reflected in administrative decisions."

The use of informal means of evaluation in the Department tended to make accounting for operations unstructured. Difficulty in assessment of competencies of professionals contributed to the informal procedures. The informality appeared to allow staff members to maintain professional freedom, which may be basic to retaining and enticing staff to the Department.

Ghost rules were designated as policies which had never been clearly defined but seemed to be directing operations in the organizations. This mechanism resulted in unclear operating procedures for Department personnel and appeared to establish the operating norms in the Department. Such unclear policies enabled personnel to operate in a manner conducive to personal objectives.

The scalar chain of authority has produced conflict for middle-level administrators who are bypassed by lower-level personnel, which hinders enforcement of responsibility. Likewise, subordinates reporting to more than one superordinate contributed to the problem of accountability in the Department.

The variety of agencies responsible for segments of educational programs in the State, which report directly to the State Board, has resulted in a fragmented organization in the Department. Such fragmentation has imposed limits on accountability for educational development and has nurtured a conflict in attainment of goals.

Due to the mechanisms advanced in this chapter, accounting for activities of Department personnel became a difficult task and contributed to the utilization of informal procedures. This lack of accountability in the Department prevented coordination of activities toward Department goals.

CHAPTER VII

COMMUNICATION

"The continuance of an organization depends upon its ability to carry out its purpose."[1] The possibility of achieving this common purpose and the existence of persons whose desires might constitute inducements for contributing to the organization's purpose are at the opposite policies of the system of cooperative effort.[2] The process by which these potentialities become dynamic is communication.[3] Communication is defined as the transmission of information.[4]

From the viewpoint of organizations, there are two separate environments of communication channels: (1) those external which refer to outside the system, and (2) those internal contained within the system.[5] Within the internal system, there exist primarily two dimensions of communication. The vertical system is defined as the transmission of information in the superordinate-subordinate relationship.[6] The communication can be either upward or downward. The horizontal system is defined as the transmission of information among peers.[7]

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[1] Chester Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 91.

[2] Ibid., p. 89.

[3] Ibid.

[4] James L. Price, Organizational Effectiveness (Homewood, Illinois: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1968), p. 163.

[5] Willard R. Lane, et al., Educational Administration, A Behavioral Analysis (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1967), p. 95.

The internal communication of a bureaucratic organization is important in its coordination of the organization's activities. The greater the degree of efficiency in the communication process the more specialization and interdependence can be tolerated.[8] Lane has asserted "...the extent to which bureaucracy, or centralized authority, can develop is dependent upon the efficiency of the communication system.[9]

March and Simon propose several hypotheses concerning the volume of communication within established communication networks. They state that less structured and undefined activities place the heaviest burdens on the communication process. They also state that the usage of a channel is directly related to the channels efficiency.[10]

In a study of organizations attempting to pursue a number of goals simultaneously, Simpson found that the organizations pursuing numerous goals place greater emphasis on maintaining channels of internal communication than do organizations with opposite characteristics. The emphasis on internal communication in such agencies is to educate its members as to objectives, keeping members informed, and keeping leaders knowledgeable.[11]

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[6] Price, op. cit., p. 168.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Lane, op. cit., p. 123.

[9] Ibid., p. 124.

[10] J. G. March and H. A. Simon, Organizations (New York: Eiley, 1958), pp. 164, 167.

The importance of internal communication to the attainment of goals is stated by Lane: "Undoubtedly, the nature of the communication which permeates an organization is significantly related to the organization's effectiveness in achieving its goals."[12]

Keeping citizens informed is an important function of today's educational administrators. Since citizens have a very real control over education, the sphere of the chief administrator will extend no further than his board and his community can be persuaded to permit.[13]

Determining ways to communicate more effectively to the public, and understanding the mass media are crucial problems for educational administrators of today.[14]

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[11] P. T. Simpson and W. H. Gulley, "Goals, Environmental Pressures and Organizational Characteristics", American Sociological Review, Vol. 27, 1962, pp. 344-351.

[12] Lane, op. cit., p. 91.

[13] Ibid., p. 99.

A recent study in Michigan by Haak supports this notion. He found that people there were less informed about the schools than teachers and administrators generally realized. In that study, despite a generally favorable opinion toward the schools by the public, only forty percent of the citizens of one community could name the superintendent and thirty-eight percent gave incorrect replies about salaries.[15]

The State Department is a social institution legalized to generally supervise education in the State. Communication to staff members, the public, and the legislature is vital to the achievement of the goals of the organization. Goal attainment in a state department cannot be divorced from (1) the public in their approval at elections, (2) legislatures in passing necessary legislation, and (3) staff members who serve as communication links to a diversity of people in a state. As Simon suggests: "It is obvious that without communication, there can be no organization."[16]

Face-to-face communication with individuals is considered a viable technique in the communication process. Yet, in an organization the size of the State Department, incorporating such a technique is impractical if not impossible. Internally, there are two types of communication in the Department--vertical and horizontal. Likewise, there is also the external communication channel of diffusing information outside the system. In an effort to communicate with the public, the Department has employed a publications specialist who is responsible for the printing and releasing of Department news. The office also works with written communications to the public school systems. As a means of informing legislators during the 1969 legislative session, the Department assigned specific personnel to work in liaison positions to the legislature.

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[14] Ibid., p. 100.

[15] L. A. Haak, "The General Public and the Public Schools." Administrators Notebook, Vol. 4, 1956, pp. 1-4.

[16] Herbert Simon, Administrative Behavior (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1957), p. 154.

It was beyond the scope of this study to determine the effectiveness of the various communication media to the public and to the public school systems. Interview data suggested problems in the vertical and horizontal communication channels within the Department between upper-level personnel and operative personnel.

Respondents consistently reported that they had little knowledge relative to the Administration's activities and limited contact with Department staff in other bureaus. A common reply was:

> "We don't know what staff in the other bureaus are doing."

The communication problem which exists between upper and lower-level personnel in the Department seemed to have crystallized during the period of goal setting in the Department.

This appears to contradict what was cited under the mechanism of CEP where it was noted that the administrators apparently were able to fuse the needs of specialists with program objectives by involving them in the planning process. CEP revision, however, has taken place after the Department had established its twenty-two goals for education. The goals established by the Department were largely determined by the administration apparently with only piecemeal participation by staff. A common response from staff concerning goal setting was:

> "The goals were set by the administration and then funneled down to us to implement them."

By contrast, the CEP revision was a concerted effort by the administration to involve the staff. Maintenance of the staff's commitment to CEP remains to be seen. Prior to staff involvement in the revision, interview data suggested a lack of commitment to the plan.

The gap which was developed during the setting of goals between the administration and specialists appeared to be situated in the Department as a "communication gap" between two almost distinct populations--those who constitute the cabinet and all others. The cabinet is composed of bureau heads, advisors to the superintendent, and a few other administrators in the Department. Ironically, one of the purposes of the cabinet is to establish better communication lines within the Department. From a memo putting forth the purposes of cabinet meetings, the following statements seem pertinent:

> 1. To provide a means of communicating to all department personnel in addition to the use of bulletins memos, and departmental letters. Cabinet members are requested to communicate pertinent information to members of their respective bureaus or offices.
>
> 2. To insure a uniform understanding of Department policies and practices.

By contrast, respondents from interview guides offered the following:

> "Don't know what the cabinet is doing."
>
> "Information from cabinet meetings never gets to us."
>
> "Communication is a real problem. Don't know what's going on in other buildings."
>
> "We find out what's going on through the paper or informally through another worker."

The resulting deficiency in vertical and horizontal communication channels between the administrators and other personnel, permits these people to experience difficulty functioning within the Department's chosen direction. This leads to divergent individual actions and to goal transformation.

For example, the specialists can be very important figures in the communication network due to the day-to-day contact with county personnel. Because of their expertise, they have opportunities to participate in meetings and serve on special programs and committees around the State. They are in the position to communicate to educators and lay people the goals of the Department. The specialists actively participate in their own professional associations which the Department encourages. From the personnel bulletin:

> "Participation in, and recognition by, professional organizations are important to staff members and the Department."

Through his identification with a specialized professional field, the specialist occupies a status leadership position, wherein, he is able to speak about and represent the Department to various public schools and higher education personnel throughout the State. How well he is informed about the Department's objectives will largely determine how he is able to present the Department to the people.

Specialists aren't limited to work and contact with public school personnel. The travel analysis revealed that some specialists are participating in a wide variety of teacher training activities throughout the State. Through such participation as in-service education, guest lectures to college classes of future teachers, meeting with teacher education personnel on the college campuses, specialists represent the Department either as a specialist well informed about Department goals or as one who may only speak within the framework of personal goals.

It has been shown that a communication gap exists in the Department between the upper-level personnel and the operative personnel. Implicitly, operating in a communication vacuum may divert specialists toward the direction of goals of their professional association resulting in goal transformation in the organization.

The mechanisms of dispersion and federal programs have also contributed to the communication gap and are explored within the context of this chapter.

Dispersion. Vertical communication becomes a greater challenge in the Department due to the placement of some of its personnel. Throughout the Department, certain personnel employed in respective bureaus are housed in counties apart from the resident county. This placement of personnel is an effort to provide better services to the local systems in the respective subject field. Specifically, the employment by the Department, of college coordinators and curriculum specialists was an effort to assist county systems in providing services. These people are housed in various regions of the State.[17] Coordinators work under both the college administrators and the Assistant State Superintendent in the Department. Because of the lack of communication between the Department and college coordinators, much of the coordinators' time is spent working on college activities rather than those pertaining to the Department.

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[17] Seven state-wide regions have been established by the State Planning Office for purposes of distributing support under the Appalachian Bill. The regions have since been established as geographic planning regions for the State programs.

From an interview guide:

> I never know what the Department is doing and what is expected; consequently, I'm spending much more of my time on college programs.

Curriculum specialists, on the other hand, have no official contact with the college and work under the direction of the college coordinators. Most of the specialist's time is spent assisting county personnel in developing Title I ESEA projects. Interview data suggested that specialists become involved in a role conflict with county personnel due to the "communication gap" in the Department. From an interview:

> "We go to counties to work with people and make recommendations which are sometimes then changed when the project is sent to the Department. If we knew what the Department was doing, we could make the proper recommendation to begin with."

As Getzels asserts, "the individual is faced with inconsistent expectations for performance in the system."[18] The specialist makes recommendations to the county personnel on the basis of what he thinks are Department objectives which, conceivably may be changed in the Department. The county personnel may conclude that the specialist is unaware of Department procedures. As Getzels further suggests:

> "The critical issue for the social system is that such role conflict is symptomatic of institutional disorganization. The critical issue for the individual is that he must cope

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[18] Jacob Getzels, et al., Educational Administration as a Social Process (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1968), p. 258.

> with the conflict, and that it may engender feelings of ambiguity, frustration, and threat to him as a person."[19]

Not only is communication a problem with those personnel located in various counties throughout the State, but it becomes a problem within the Department operations because of the dispersion of offices housing those personnel near the Capitol complex. In addition to the main office complex, Department staff are housed in ten different office arrangements. The Vocational Research Unit is located 50 miles away, while the library and audio-visual offices are four miles away. The other offices are located from three blocks to 300 feet from the administrative quarters. From an interview guide:

> "Communication is a real problem--we don't know what's going on in the other buildings."

> "I find out through the papers when someone is hired or promoted."

The location of the various offices is a contributing factor to the communication gap and is contributing to sustaining the pursuit of individual objectives rather than the stated goals of the Department. If a Department specialist is consulting with local school personnel and is expected to make recommendations concerning his particular area, his recommendations will emanate from information reflecting Department objectives in his respective area. If his data do not reflect the organization's policy, the specialist may make the recommendations on the basis of the information he possesses, which will be determined from his professional contacts and become associated with his personal goals rather than those of the organization.

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[19] Ibid.

The location of the Department staff members throughout the State as well as the location of the various office quarters housing Department staff not only contribute to the communication gap but subscribe also to the lack of accountability in the Department. Informal means of checking travel cards, and county feedback apply to both those members in or near the main complex and also to the staff members housed in colleges and throughout the State.

By comparison, Kaufman found in his study of the Forest Ranger that because of the remote locale of the Forest Ranger's field office, the Forest Service developed elaborate procedures for holding Forest Rangers accountable on their jobs. Kaufman stated that such procedures as diaries maintained by the Rangers, reports of overhead services, frequent and thorough inspections of the Rangers' districts, etc., all transmitted information about the Ranger's role performance to their superordinates. He pointed out that the procedures tended to increase conformity to the norms of the forest service.[20]

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[20] Herbert Kaufman, The Forest Ranger (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1960), pp. 126-160.

Federal programs. The State Department has been participating in federal programs since 1917, when the legislature passed an act accepting the provisions and benefits of the first national vocational education act, the Smith Hughes Act of 1917. The first allotment of federal funds to the State was $21,722 in 1917-18. Due to the lack of Department staff, four members of the State University agreed to aid the State Board in inaugurating classes provided for by the Act.[21]

The Department staff at that time consisted of a superintendent and ten assistants. Little growth of the staff was apparent for the next twenty-seven years. By 1946, the Department staff consisted of only nineteen members. Growth of the staff continued slowly with little support coming from the Federal Government. In 1961 the Federal funds contributed only seventeen percent of the Department expenditures for personal services. Personal services remained the same for the next two years until the time of enactment of the Elementary Secondary Education Act. The Act immediately had a significant influence on the growth of the staff, and by 1966 the Department listed eighty-six professional staff positions, although some were not filled.[22] The present professional staff totals 101 members.

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[21] Department History, p. 39.

[22] Department History, p. 46.

An analysis of the budget revealed the significance federal aid has had upon Department operations. A summary of the data is presented in Table VIII. In the school year, 1964-65, fourteen percent of the expenditure for personal services and twenty percent of the current expenditures in the Department were from federal funds. By contrast, in 1967-68, forty-eight percent of the personal services and sixty-three percent of the current expense in the Department operations were from federal funds. An analysis in support of the tremendous growth in Department services, as a result of federal expenditures, is shown in Table IX. The total increase in personal services from 1964-65 to 1967-68 was 2.8 times while the increase in federal expenditures in the same area was sevenfold.

TABLE VIII

DEPARTMENT EXPENDITURES
1964-65 AND 1967-68

	State Percent		Federal Percent	
	1964-65	1967-68	1964-65	1967-68
Personal Services	86	52	14	48
Current Expenses	80	37	20	63

TABLE IX

FINANCIAL GROWTH FROM 1964-65 TO 1967-68 IN PERSONAL SERVICES

	State	Federal	Total
1964-65	$495,871	$ 78,473	$ 574,344
1967-68	610,910	557,321	1,688,236
Increase	1.0 times	7.0 times	2.8 times

The professional staff has presently increased to 101 members, of which two-thirds are paid, in part or in full, from federal funds. In 1966-67 the Department was administering nine programs supported by State funds while at the same time administering twelve financed by federal funds.[23] As a consequence of the rapid growth in the past few years, the Department has had to disburse some of its functions to personnel who, by necessity, have had to be housed in offices detached from the main complex.

Thus, though federal funds have enabled the Department to substantially increase its staff and services, the additional resources have contributed to the communication gap and to the lack of accountability in the Department.

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[23] Office Memo.

Summary. The mechanisms of dispersion and federal programs constituted the concept of communication which was defined as the transmission of information. Internal problems in vertical and horizontal communication systems appeared to result in staff experiencing difficulty functioning toward Department objectives.

The gap which existed between upper-level administrators and other personnel appeared to have crystallized during establishment of goals in the Department and has fostered barriers in the communication channels to staff both within the Department and to those in the field. The lack of communication to those personnel housed in colleges effected a role conflict.

Absence of information to Department staff encouraged pursuit of individual objectives and impeded coordination among bureaus.

Federal funds have enabled the Department to substantially increase services which has necessitated the housing of staff in various buildings. The diversity of locale has sustained a communication and accountability problem and created organizational behavior which altered Department goals.

CHAPTER VIII

REAL GOALS OF THE ORGANIZATION

Etzioni alludes to the distortion of goals when the organization attributes too much importance to some indicators of organizational success and not enough to others. Distortion exists when the major organizational goals remain intact but certain aspects of the goals are overemphasized at the expense of others.[1]

The preceding chapters presented the concepts of Leadership, Bureaucracy, Accountability, and Communication which constituted in this study the conceptual syndrome. The syndrome explained the dynamics within the organization which distorted the stated goals of the State Department and resulted in the Department's real goals. The process by which the stated organizational goals were distorted and the explanation of how the real goals were introduced was synonomous.

Evidence in this study indicated that the Department had two real goals. The real goal of CEP was the dominant goal since the major resources and commitments of the organization were allocated to its fulfillment. The latent goal was the goal of control which had yet to manifest itself. The stated goals had been distorted by the transformation process which resulted in the real goal of CEP and the latent goal of control. The stated goals had been transformed into real goals through the process of goal proliferation.

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[1] Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), p. 10.

The concept of latency in this study referred to the force which had not manifested itself in the dynamics of the organization. It was a goal that had not been operationalized because it was constrained by a more dominant goal which, when attained, would allow the latent goal to emerge resulting in goal proliferation.

Because of the constraints placed upon allocating funds and personnel in a State Department of Education, determining this organization's latent goal of control necessitated a supplement to Etzioni's theory.

A real goal is defined by Etzioni as "those future states toward which a majority of the organization's means and the major organizational commitments of the participants are directed.[2] Etzioni suggests that in order to determine the organization's real goals, one must examine such units as work flow, allocation of means, assignment of personnel, official minutes, etc. His definition of real goal suggests that primary investigation should be in the areas of the budget and personnel commitment.[3] Etzioni's definition appeared to be based on research evidence gathered primarily in government and industrial organizations and not in education agencies. The premise of Selznick that an analysis of institutions calls for logic of interpretation[4] was particularly relevant to determining the latent goal of an educational organization. The discourse which follows extends Selznick's position.

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[2] Ibid., p. 7.

The primary objective of the interpretive analyst is not simply to describe the history of the organization, nor is he interested in how selected variables are related to each other. Instead, the technique of using an open-ended free association interview is used and then the data is scrutinized for revealing symptoms. Just as the psychoanalyst studies the patient for signs which reveal a latent structure, the investigator studies the data. For the analyst to bring the latent structure to life, he must be able to analyze the symptoms.[5] As Selznick so aptly contends:

> The symptom is always a part of a syndrome. It is the presence of the syndrome which permits inferences regarding the latent structure.[6]

Similarly, in the study of organizations, he contends that the underlying latent structure must be examined to find the organization's true purpose. Selznick states:

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[3] Ibid., p. 6.

[4] Philip Selznick, The Organizational Weapon (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1960), p. VII.

[5] Ibid., p. VII.

[6] Ibid., p. VIII.

> There is nothing interpretive about a public opinion poll until an inference is made about a latent structure.[7]

Complementing Etzioni's approach with the psychoanalytic approach advocated by Selznick appeared to be a more viable method in determining the reals goals in the State Department under investigation.

Though the budget and assignment of personnel were those means submitted by Etzioni in determining the real goal in an organization, their prognostic value was not totally adequate in establishing the real goals in the State Department. Due to the restrictions placed on expenditures of money in this State Department, the investigator looked to both the underlying structure of the resources and the revealing symptoms in the syndrome which determined the organization latent goal. For as Selznick states:

> The essence of the interpretive process is the drawing of conclusions from the study of observable indicators that some underlying pattern or configuration exists.[8]

Thus, to determine the latent goal of the State Department, the investigator used a resources-symptoms-inference approach. This process involved (1) determining where the major resources and personnel commitments were, (2) determining the symptoms of the syndrome, and (3) drawing inferences about the latent structure of the symptoms.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

A rationale is submitted to support the use of the resources-symptoms-inference approach. An analysis of budget, travel records, types of staff meetings held in the Department revealed that the major obvious commitment of the Department was the CEP program and was one of the real goals in this study.

One million dollars of the Department budget was specifically allocated for CEP. Seventeen percent of a bureau's travel time was spent in CEP operations and the Department's entire staff of 101 members had devoted four entire days of staff meetings to CEP within a period of two months. It appeared to the investigator that CEP, according to the budget and allocation of personnel assignments, was the major commitment of the Department and was the dominant real goal of the State Department. However, because the CEP did not appear to reveal the underlying commitment of the organization, the investigator looked to the underlying structure of CEP in order to determine the latent goal of the Department. The following presents the procedure through which the latent goal in this study emerged.

An examination of the budget revealed that personal services for federal programs had increased seven-fold during the past four years, while the Department's services had increased 2.8 times. Using the budget analysis to determine means and direction of the Department was deceiving since federal aid was all categorical and must be spent in specific programs. To say that the real goal of the Department was federal programs was unrealistic since federal money could only be spent in specific areas and obviously would strengthen those areas. The Department had utilized finances available from the Federal Government as a means of strengthening and improving its staff.

To use the analysis of the allocation of personnel as indicative of the Department's real goal was viewed as a deceptive procedure since two-thirds of the present personnel were paid, in part or in full, by Federal funds.

Though exploring both important areas was very beneficial, the areas of resources and personnel assignments did not, however, reveal what could be termed the Department's latent goal.

To determine the latent goal required further analysis. CEP has been described in a previous chapter, but a brief summary is necessary for the present context. CEP was a comprehensive plan which defined educational programs from pre-school through high school and adult. However, as the State was organized, it was unlikely that the Department would be successful in attaining the goal of comprehensiveness in the State. To take further steps toward determining the Department's latent goal, the researcher asked the question, "What would be the necessary means by which the Department could realize the CEP program?"

Inferences from mechanisms in the conceptual syndrome revealed three symptoms which, if present, would be significant in realizing the goal of CEP. These symptoms were (1) centralization of agencies, (2) regionalization of education in the State, and (3) planning and assessment. A brief discussion of each symptom is given.

Centralization of agencies. It has been shown in the mechanism of organizational fragmentation that many different agencies were responsible for education in the State. These agencies reported directly to the State Board of Education rather than these agencies channeling their activities through the Department. Coordination of their efforts by the Department became a difficult task. Such programs as education for the handicapped, control of finance, pre-school education, were not within the responsibilities of the State Department. Two significant activities, however, within the past three years indicated an awareness of this problem and attempts to combat them. In 1966 a bill was introduced in the House which would dissolve the present Board of School Finance and put the responsibilities for fiscal distribution and control under the Department. Though the bill wasn't passed, it nevertheless indicated that the principle of centralizing agencies was under consideration. Gross indicates that an examination of the bills which are not passed during a present legislative session will reveal those issues which will receive attention in the future.[9] House Bill 599, the reorganization bill for higher education in the State, illustrates Gross' position. Although the bill has just passed during the 1969 legislative session, the topic of reorganization of education in the State was discussed by legislators for a number of years. Another example was the establishment of the School Building Authority which appeared to be closer to passage this year than ever before. The principle had been discussed in the legislature for the past ten years.

At a recent Board meeting, the Schools for Deaf and Blind were placed under the control of the State Department; but a following Board meeting rescinded the operation and placed them once again under the jurisdiction of the State Board. It appeared that this was done largely due to the size of the Schools for Deaf and Blind and the concern by Board members for the fiscal appropriation to the schools. The original act technically violated the Code since, as indicated in the legal constraints mechanism, the Schools for the Deaf and Blind were under the jurisdiction of the State Board. The idea had been presented and would probably receive considerably more attention in the future years.

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[9] Bertram Gross, The Legislative Struggle (New York: McGraw Hill Co., 1953).

An Attorney General's opinion in March, 1966, regarding classification and standardization of all schools in the State was quoted in part as follows:

> We, therefore, conclude that the ____ Board of Education is under an affirmative duty to establish rules and regulations relating to the classification and standardization of all schools in the State (except State University) and further to determine the minimum standards for those schools which confer degrees and diplomas.[10]

The fact that the Attorney General contributed the ruling indicated that someone was pursuing the particular course and was apparently recognizing the fragmentation in the Department.

The above illustrations seemed to substantiate the premise that centralization of agencies was necessary if the goal of CEP was to be attained.

Regionalization. If CEP was to be realized and a comprehensive education program was to be available to all children of the State, then it was submitted that education in the State would have to be reorganized. Under the concept of leadership, reference was made to a recent study which revealed that only one of the 55 counties in the State was now offering programs in all of the CEP subject areas and this county had a student population of 21,973.

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[10] Office Memo, August 12, 1966.

Research shows "In areas of sparse population, the improvement of education depends to a significant degree upon creation of local districts of adequate size".[11] In support of this research, the National Commission on School District Reorganization concludes that a desirable local district needs from 10,000 to 12,000 students.[12] Mort and Cornell found the most adaptable school systems to be those which constituted a school population of about 12,000 pupils and a total population of about 50,000 people.[13]

Twenty-four percent of the county units in the State had a school population of 10,000[14] Thus, in order to implement CEP, education would have to be reorganized either administratively or instructionally or both. Administratively would require legislation since Article 3 of the State Constitution stated that money of one county can't be expended in another. However, the Department staff could begin to initiate instructional activities such as in-service education on a regional basis. An analysis of the weekly newsletters from the Office of Publications indicated a trend in this direction. Thus, it appeared that the Department was beginning to orient the State to the concept of regionalized education since, in order to implement CEP, the regional approach seemed to be necessary. As one county superintendent recently stated: "The county unit has outlived its usefulness."

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[11] William P. McClure, "Structure of Educational Government: As viewed by the Educator" in Government of Public Education for Adequate Policy Making, ed. by William P. McClure and Van Miller (Urbana: University of Illinois, Bureau of Educational Research, College of Education, 1960), p. 23.

[12] National Commission on School District Reorganization, Your School District (Washington, D. C., NEA, Department of Rural Education, 1948), p. 87.

[13] P. R. Mort and F. G. Cornell, American Schools in Transition (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1938).

[14] Source: Ranking of the Counties, State Education Association, 1968, p. 9.

Planning and assessment. In order to develop the Comprehensive Educational Program designed to meet the needs of education in the State, there was a need for (1) effective planning and establishment of objectives, and (2) assessment in order to determine if the objectives have been accomplished. The Department, recognizing these functions and utilizing Federal funds, established in 1966 the Office of Educational Planning and in 1969 an Office of Assessment.

One of the purposes of the planning office was to involve Department and county staff in establishing objectives for education in the State. As Simon conclusively asserts:

> Significant changes in human behavior can be brought about rapidly only if the persons who are expected to

> change participate in deciding what the change shall be and how it shall be made.[15]

By establishing a commitment to program, assessment could be more effective.

Thus, it was concluded that the three symptoms of (1) centralization of agencies, (2) regionalization, and (3) planning and assessment were necessary factors to establish CEP.

To determine the latent goal of the Department, there was a need for the following question to be answered, "What was the latent structure of the symptoms?" Specifically, what would be the result should the symptoms be brought to life. More control of education for organizational effectiveness was the conclusion drawn by this investigator.

More control. To gain more control would centralize responsibility for education in the Department. It was noted under the mechanism of authority that the State Department had the legal responsibility for supervision of schools in the State; but due to lack of staff in early periods of Department growth, the responsibility had been decentralized to the local counties. As it presently operated, the Department basically was a service agency and had little control over the activities of the county personnel. Consequently, Department staff found themselves relatively ineffective in initiating Department programs in the counties. Reference was made under the mechanism of organizational fragmentation that various agencies in the State were responsible for education activities. The Department's responsibility for education development in the State was diffused through various agencies. The diffusion prevented educational programs from being effectively coordinated.

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[15] James G. March (ed.) Handbook of Organizations (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, University of Chicago, 1958), p. 22.

Attainment of the latent goal of control suggested that accountability for educational development in the State would rest with the State Department. Agencies responsible for educational activities would be coordinated through the Department.

Centralizing control of education in the Department would mean a relocation of points of authority and decision making. This did not mean that all decisions regarding education in the State would be made by Department personnel since certain aspects of the educational program would need to remain primarily at the local level. However, some of the major decisions regarding the direction of education in the State would be made at the State level. Morphet contends that people in this country are becoming increasingly aware that centralization for certain educational activities should be undertaken.[16]

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[16] Edgar Morphet, Educational Organization and Administration, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967 p. 27.

He suggests that the State is in a much better position than most local school systems to tap and utilize certain sources of revenues that should be used for support of the schools. This point has been illustrated under the mechanism of legal constraints wherein it was cited that ten levies in the State had been defeated during the past twelve months although each levy had received more than fifty percent of the vote. Control for educational expenditures at the State level could do much to alleviate the problem in local counties of raising necessary resources for education. A recent study of goal transformation in a county school system in the State revealed the inability to raise needed resources as a major factor in the transformation of stated goals.[17]

Morphet further points out that although raising funds would be better at the State level, that teaching must be carried out in the local community. Effective teaching, though, is enhanced by resources and materials which could be raised at the State level.[18]

To realize the goal of control inferred that the Department would have to allocate its major resources and commitments toward fulfilling the objective.

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[17] Edwin R. Smith, An Analysis of the Conceptual Syndrome Affecting the Stated Goals of a County Public School System in _____. Unpublished Dissertation, May, 1969.

[18] Morphet, loc. cit.

The major commitment in the Department was found to be the stated goal of CEP. Constrained in the dominant goal of CEP was the latent goal of control. As the Department worked toward its stated goal of CEP, the dynamics in the organization were releasing the latent goal of control. Release of the latent goal resulted in the Department pursuing an additional goal, concurrent with pursuit of the dominant goal of CEP. Pursuing the additional goal of control emerged as the phenomenon of goal proliferation. Attainment of the latent goal of control would enable the Department to achieve many of its other goals.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

Literature on organizational analysis has focused on the process of goal transformation in organizations where little change has taken place, rather than on educational agencies involved presently in new role identification. State departments of education have rapidly expanded and changed the structure of their organizations. They appear to be the agency the Federal Government will depend on in the future to provide important leadership functions if education is to reach the people of the State. Departments of education, however, have been subjected to relatively little study as a means of improving their organizations.

Using the theoretical framework of Etzioni, this study focused on the process by which goals of a State Department were transformed into the organization's real goals. It set forth a set of related concepts which explained the State Department and which could be significant factors to effect change in the State Department operations.

Statement of problem. The purpose of the study was to identify and examine a conceptual syndrome which permitted assessment of three goal dimensions by which the stated goals of the State Department were transformed into the real organizational goals and to assess consequences of this process in terms of the organization's operations.

Specifically, this study determined the following:

1. The mechanisms operating in the organization which established a conceptual syndrome.
2. The organization's real goal.
3. The consequences in the organization resulting from goal transformation.

Through the use of an open-ended interview guide, personal data, and unobtrusive measures, the investigator ascertained 16 mechanisms which inductively revealed the concepts of Leadership, Bureaucracy, Accountability, and Communication which constituted the conceptual syndrome and explained the dynamics of the organization under investigation.

Etzioni's theory for establishing the real goal of an organization was supplemented in this study with Selznick's psychoanalytic approach to the analysis of organizations. These approaches produced the real goal of CEP and the latent goal of control.

By reversing the method used in determining the conceptual syndrome from an inductive to a deductive technique and using the Resources-Symptoms-Inference approach, the organization's real goal of CEP and the latent goal of control were determined. After ascertaining the latent goal of the organization, the phenomenon of goal proliferation was uncovered in the organization. It was proposed that once the real goal was attained, many Department goals would be achieved. It was postulated that the procedure for determining the real goal and the latent goal in the State Department could be generalized to other state departments.

The concepts put forth which constituted the conceptual syndrome described the dynamics of the Department. For a person to understand the operations of the Department, it is submitted that he must understand the four concepts of Leadership, Bureaucracy, Accountability, and Communication. Should administrators wish to change the Department operations, change could be brought about by modification of the concepts.

The Department's latent goal of gaining more control for organizational effectiveness was constrained in the more dominant goal of CEP and entrenched in such structural constraints as amending the Constitution and combating sectionalism in the State. It was projected that once the State was reorganized and control of education in the State was reverted to the State Board of Education through the State Department, that most of the Department goals would be attainable and realized. Thus, in this study, the transformation process explained the phenomenon of goal proliferation since to achieve control, the Department had to place its emphasis upon attaining the additional goal of control.

The data which follow briefly summarize the dynamics of the organization.

Leadership. The State Board of Education through the State Department has been legalized as the agency for determining public school educational policy in the State. Due to a limited number of Department staff during the period of initial organization, responsibility had been abdicated to local systems which were legalized by statute. Hence, county staff apparently pursued local objectives rather than those of the Department. Department staff were involved in various leadership activities, localized in setting, resulting in a leadership gap to the rest of the State. As a result of a leadership vacuum and lack of legislative program, influencing groups have been able to direct education in the State on the basis of vested interests. Due to the comprehensiveness of State Board responsibilities, the Board has been limited in its ability to provide necessary services to Department programs.

Bureaucracy. The bureaucratic structure of the Department has resulted in standardization of procedures which required diffusion of personnel time. Personnel appeared to be working in a situation where few monetary and fringe incentives were available. Prior to staff involvement in program planning and in establishing objectives, decisions were made primarily at the top of the hierarchy and filtered down for implementation. Staff had little commitment to decisions and appeared largely to be pursuing personal goals. The Department itself was constrained in achieving goals by the complexity of the Education Code.

Accountability. Informal means of evaluation, a large group of professionals, and organizational fragmentation resulted in extreme difficulty in accounting for activities of the Department staff. Professionals were initially pursuing individual goals of professional associations rather than those of the Department. Disbursement of staff resulted in enabling professionals to pursue personal goals, especially since "ghost" rules appeared to direct much of the Department's operations.

Communication. The communication gap between upper-level administrators and staff contributed to the situation whereby Department members lacked information regarding Department objectives. As a consequence, role conflict emerged in some instances. The growth of Department, primarily through utilization of federal funds, resulted in expansion of staff who were housed in different quarters. Dispersion of offices contributed to the communication gap which resulted in staff pursuing individual goals and complicated the problem of accountability in the Department.

In the methodology section of this study, a schematic drawing, reproduced in Figure 2, was presented which outlined the procedures employed in this investigation. As a summary, the schematic representation, shown in Figure 3, reveals not only the process, but the actual mechanisms, syndrome, real goal, and latent goal of the State Department. An interpretation of Figure 3, elucidates the graphic diagram.

1. Data for the study were gathered from 52 interviews, personal data, and unobtrusive measures such as examining office records, travel records, and budgets.

2. Analysis of data determined a group of 16 mechanisms which revealed the dynamics of the organization.

3. Mechanisms which were grouped according to common elements, determined the concepts of Leadership, Bureaucracy, Accountability, and Communication.

4. The concepts combined with the mechanisms, constituted the conceptual syndrome.

5. The conceptual syndrome was the process through which stated goals were transformed into the real goals of CEP and the latent goal of control which were determined through the use of the Resources-Symptoms-Inference approach.

6. Following determination of the real goal and latent goal, the phenomenon of goal proliferation was ascertained.

FIGURE 2

A FLOWCHART OF PROCEDURES FOR GOAL TRANSFORMATION ANALYSIS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

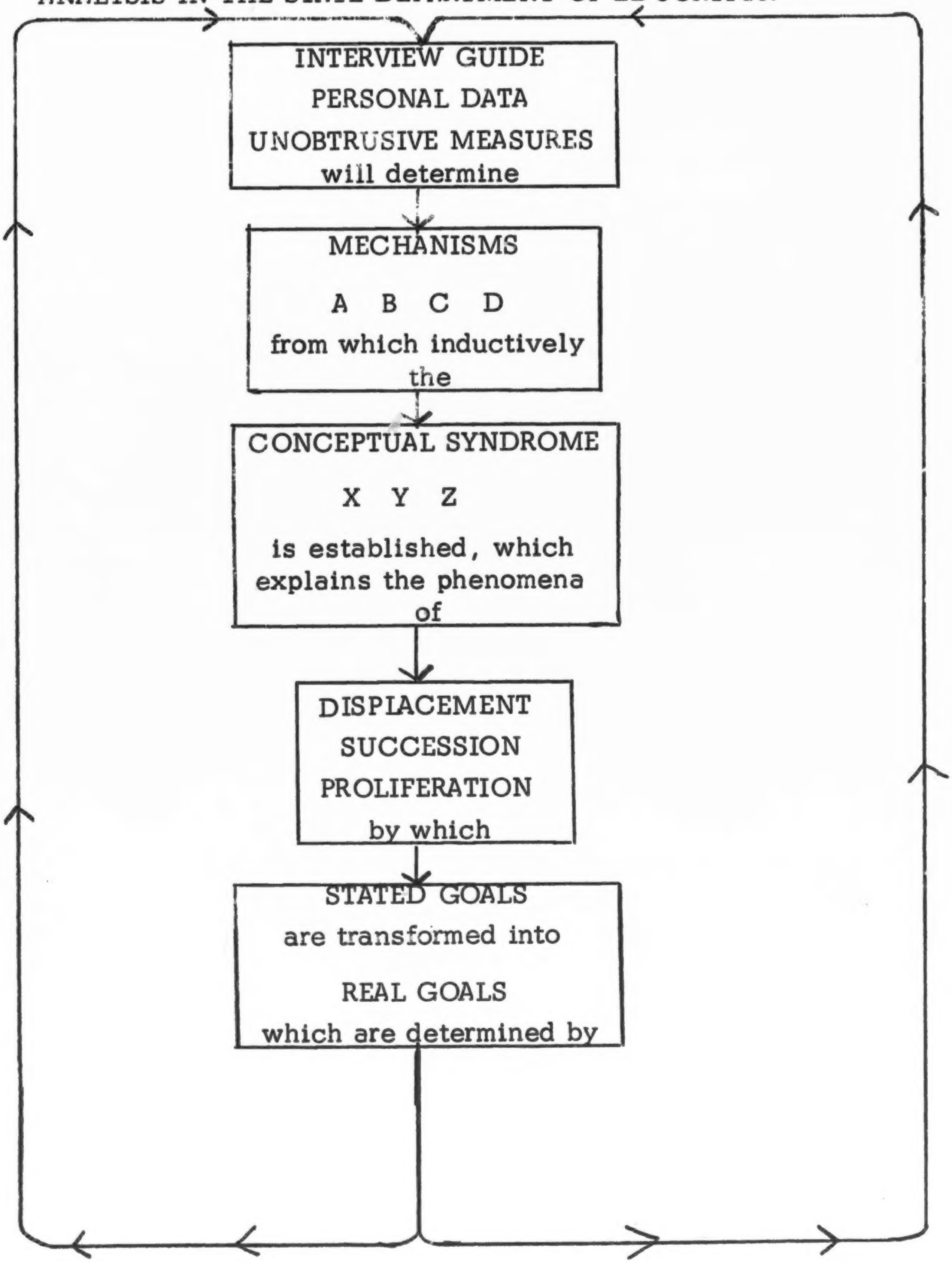
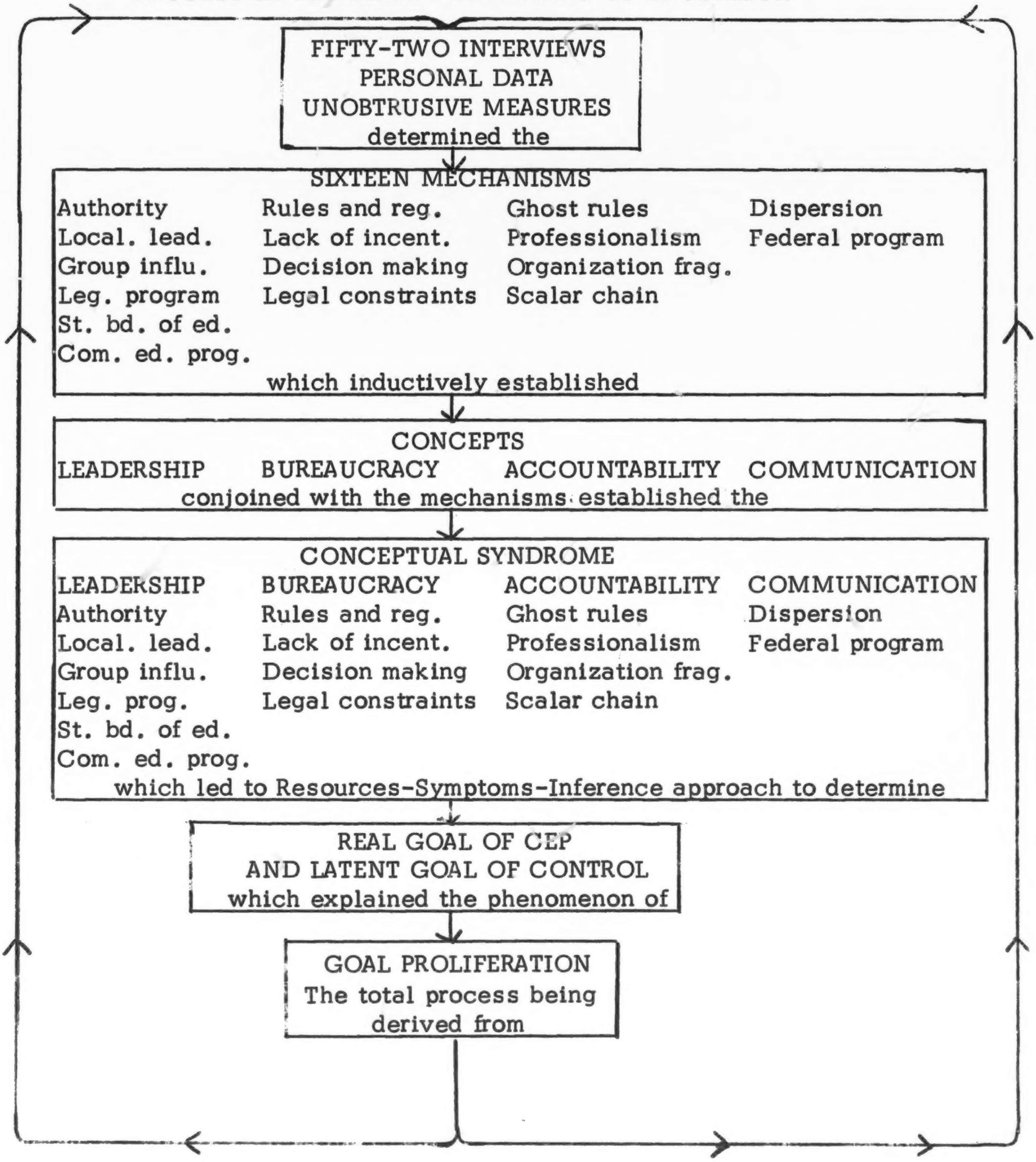

INTERVIEW GUIDE
PERSONAL DATA
UNOBTRUSIVE MEASURES
will determine
MECHANISMS
A B C D
from which inductively the
CONCEPTUAL SYNDROME
X Y Z
is established, which explains the phenomena of
DISPLACEMENT
SUCCESSION
PROLIFERATION
by which
STATED GOALS
are transformed into
REAL GOALS
which are determined by

FIGURE 3

A FLOWCHART OF THE ANALYSIS OF THE GOAL TRANSFORMATION PROCESS IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION


FIFTY-TWO INTERVIEWS
PERSONAL DATA
UNOBTRUSIVE MEASURES
determined the
SIXTEEN MECHANISMS
Authority
Local. lead.
Group influ.
Leg. program
St. bd. of ed.
Com. ed. prog.
Rules and reg.
Lack of incent.
Decision making
Legal constraints
Ghost rules
Professionalism
Organization frag.
Scalar chain
Dispersion
Federal program
which inductively established
CONCEPTS
LEADERSHIP
BUREAUCRACY
ACCOUNTABILITY
COMMUNICATION
conjoined with the mechanisms established the
CONCEPTUAL SYNDROME
LEADERSHIP
Authority
Local. lead.
Group influ.
Leg. prog.
St. bd. of ed.
Com. ed. prog.
BUREAUCRACY
Rules and reg.
Lack of incent.
Decision making
Legal constraints
ACCOUNTABILITY
Ghost rules
Professionalism
Organization frag.
Scalar chain
COMMUNICATION
Dispersion
Federal program
which led to Resources-Symptoms-Inference approach to determine
REAL GOAL OF CEP
AND LATENT GOAL OF CONTROL
which explained the phenomenon of
GOAL PROLIFERATION
The total process being
derived from

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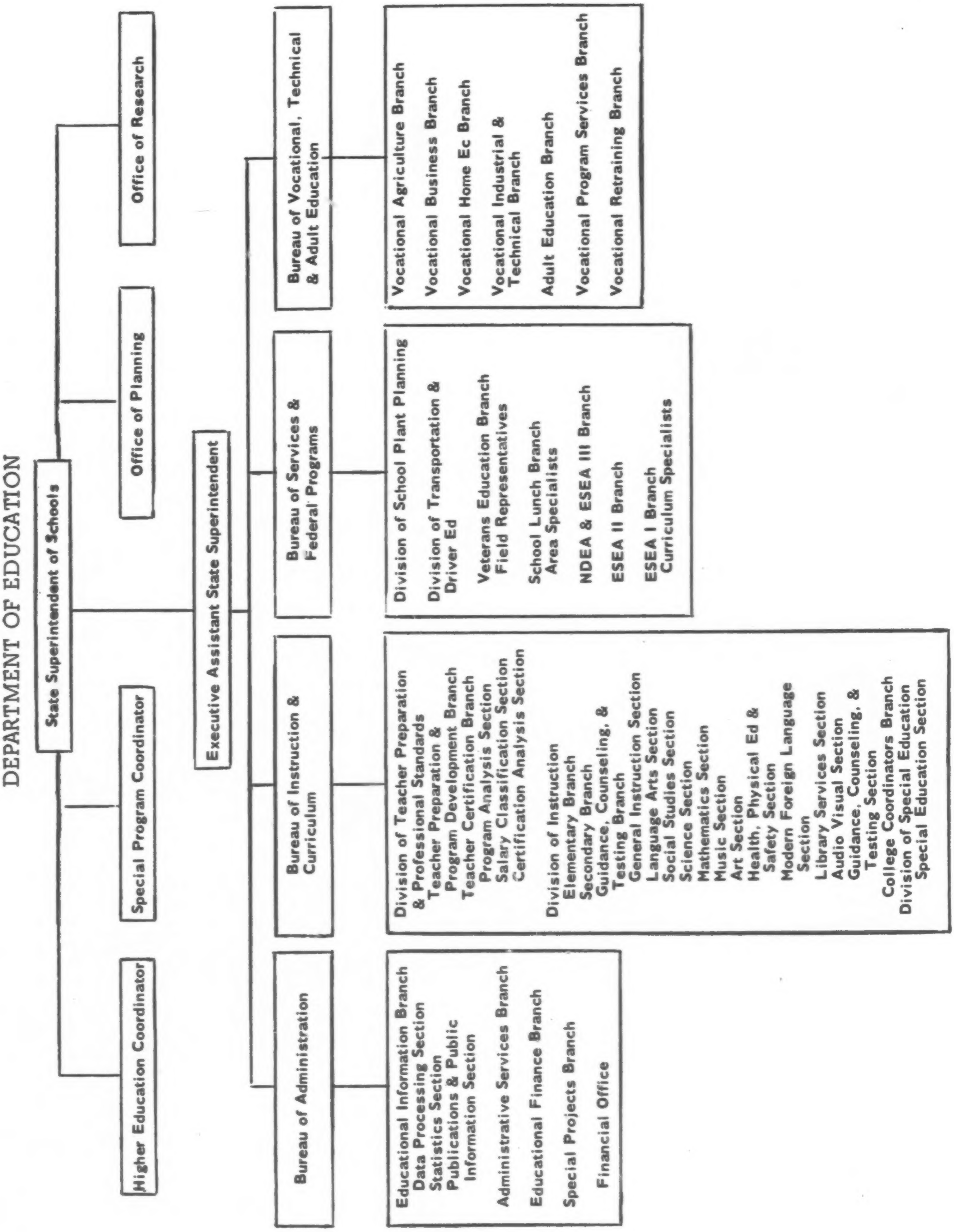
APPENDIX A


DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
State Superintendent of Schools
Higher Education Coordinator
Special Program Coordinator
Office of Planning
Office of Research
Executive Assistant State Superintendent
Bureau of Administration
Educational Information Branch
Data Processing Section
Statistics Section
Publications & Public Information Section
Administrative Services Branch
Educational Finance Branch
Special Projects Branch
Financial Office
Bureau of Instruction & Curriculum
Division of Teacher Preparation & Professional Standards
Teacher Preparation & Program Development Branch
Teacher Certification Branch
Program Analysis Section
Salary Classification Section
Certification Analysis Section
Division of Instruction
Elementary Branch
Secondary Branch
Guidance, Counseling, & Testing Branch
General Instruction Section
Language Arts Section
Social Studies Section
Science Section
Mathematics Section
Music Section
Art Section
Health, Physical Ed & Safety Section
Modern Foreign Language Section
Library Services Section
Audio Visual Section
Guidance, Counseling, & Testing Section
College Coordinators Branch
Division of Special Education
Special Education Section
Bureau of Services & Federal Programs
Division of School Plant Planning
Division of Transportation & Driver Ed
Veterans Education Branch
Field Representatives
School Lunch Branch
Area Specialists
NDEA & ESEA III Branch
ESEA II Branch
ESEA I Branch
Curriculum Specialists
Bureau of Vocational, Technical & Adult Education
Vocational Agriculture Branch
Vocational Business Branch
Vocational Home Ec Branch
Vocational Industrial & Technical Branch
Adult Education Branch
Vocational Program Services Branch
Vocational Retraining Branch

APPENDIX B

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

GOALS FOR EDUCATION

The following statement of goals is the result of committee study and staff consideration. Goals listed are considered to be major; many specific goals of the various bureaus and divisions are not stated but are considered to be implicit in one or more of the stated goals. Goals have been grouped into five general areas as follows:

1. Planning for comprehensiveness.
2. Instructional program.
3. Personnel.
4. Facilities.
5. Finance.

Some goals are related to more than one category and have been placed arbitrarily.

Comprehensiveness

1. Goal: The development of a comprehensive educational program, pre-school through adult and higher education, which will place appropriate educational programs within reach of all students and adults.

2. Goal: Provision for immediate and long-range planning for services and facilities by county school systems, and for the development of county plans which are regionally oriented.

3. Goal: All high schools to make available comprehensive programs as defined in the Comprehensive Educational Program guidelines as follows:

    a. There is a comprehensive general program of education to meet the needs of all students at all levels.

    b. There is a comprehensive elective curriculum for those who will need salable skills immediately upon graduation from high school.

   c. There is a comprehensive elective curriculum for those who will continue in a program of formal education.

4. Goal: The adoption of a structure which will serve to unify education at all levels.

5. Goal: Opportunities for post-high school education to be available to all students.

6. Goal: Provision of adult education programs, supported jointly by the State and counties through the school support formula and augmented with Federal funds.

Instructional Program

1. Goal: The involvement of county school systems in continuous curricular study, experimentation and curricular revision.

2. Goal: A State supported teacher preparation program involving adequate supervised teaching experience, under the direction of qualified supervision teachers.

3. Goal: The systematic professional development of educational leaders--superintendents, supervisors and principals--through a State supported graduate training program.

4. Goal: The development of an early childhood education program that will be supported within the State school support formula.

5. Goal: A Vocational education program that includes occupational, vocational and technical levels, as a part of the public school system, based on a general education program and pre-vocational experiences which will prepare participants for employment and provide retraining opportunities for adults.

6. Goal: Provide an enriched educational program through the use of appropriate communication media.

7. Goal: A system of compensatory education to improve the

educational opportunities of environmentally disadvantaged pupils.

Personnel

1. Goal: Provision of teacher aids and the application of technology in order to permit the full utilization of the instructional potential of teachers.
2. Goal: Salary schedules, working conditions, and fringe benefits for school personnel adequate to attract and hold competent personnel required for teaching, administrative, supervisory and supportive services.

Facilities

1. Goal: Maximum use of educational facilities throughout the school day and the calendar year.
2. Goal: Creation of a school building authority to provide adequate school facilities for all students.

Finances

1. Goal: Approval of school bonds and extra levies by a simple majority of the votes cast.
2. Goal: The elimination of curricular fees and the provision of free textbooks for all public school students.
3. Goal: Increased efficiency of fiscal operation, revision of the school support formula and control of fiscal operations of the schools by the Board of Education.
4. Goal: The coordination of Federal, State, and local funds to support a comprehensive educational program.
5. Goal: Sufficient funds to enable the State Department of Education to perform needed functions in the areas of leadership, administration, and service.

Dept. of Education
11/28/67

APPENDIX C

ADDENDUM

In the study, reference is made to House Bill 788 and House Bill 780. These bills were passed in the State legislature after the data were collected. For additional clarification, a synopsis of each bill is given.

House Bill 783. The bill established the board of regents which is to have responsibility for the general determination, control, supervision, and management of the financial, business, and educational policies and affairs of all State colleges and universities. Creation of the Board of Regents will reorganize education in the State freeing the State Board of Education to act upon policies pertaining specifically to public and elementary education.

Reference was made on page 62 of this report that Department personnel were not present at the hearing on the Board of Regents Bill and the omission of personnel at this meeting was used to support the leadership vacuum existing in the Department. As a clarification, although Department personnel were not present, the staff had an important role in developing the Regents Bill. A memo dated September 8, 1968, contained Department recommendations relative to reorganization. These recommendations constituted much of the present content of the Board of Regents Bill.

House Bill 780. The bill establishes a compact between and among states on qualifications of educational personnel. The law enables states which desire by common action to improve their school systems to utilize the teacher or other professionally trained person wherever educated. This would permit a teacher, certified in a neighboring or other state which enters into the agreement, to be automatically certified in the State.

The purpose of the law is to utilize the many qualified educational personnel who move for family or other personal reasons but heretofore have been hindered in using their professional skill and experience in their new locations.

ABSTRACT

AN ANALYSIS OF THE GOAL TRANSFORMATION PROCESS IN A STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

by
Henry R. Marockie

The purpose of the study was to identify and examine a conceptual syndrome which permitted assessment of three goal dimensions by which the stated goals of the State Department were transformed to the real organizational goals and to assess consequences of this process in terms of the organization's operations.

Specifically, this study determined the following:

1. The mechanisms operating in the organization which established a conceptual syndrome.
2. The organization's real goal.
3. The consequences in the organization resulting from goal transformation.

The three dimensions of goal transformation identified by Etzioni as displacement, succession, and proliferation established the theoretical framework for the investigation.

Data for the study were gathered from 52 interviews, personal records, and unobtrusive measures. The analyses of these data determined 16 mechanisms which inductively revealed the concepts of Leadership, Bureaucracy, Accountability, and Communication which constituted the conceptual syndrome and explained the dynamics of the organization

under investigation.

Under the concept of leadership, a leadership vacuum was uncovered which permitted outside agencies to become influential in directing the course of education in the State.

The concept of bureaucracy indicated that excessive conformity to rules, lack of incentives, legal constraints and decision making at the top of the hierarchy represented the dynamics which altered the Department's stated objectives.

The concept of accountability revealed that informal means of evaluation, a large group of professionals, organizational fragmentation were major factors contributing to the difficulty in coordinating Department activities toward stated objectives.

The concept of communication suggested that a communication gap between upper-level administrators and others hindered staff effectiveness in Department operations. The growth of Department staff, primarily through utilization of Federal funds, resulted in dispersion of staff and contributed to communication and accountability problems in the Department.

The conceptual syndrome and the process of real goal evolvement were synonomous and produced distortion in the stated goals of the organization. Selznick's psychoanalytic approach to organization analysis supplemented Etzioni's approach to determine the organization's real goals. The subsequent Resources-Symptoms-Inference approach revealed the dominant goal of the comprehensive educational program and the constrained goal of control. As the Department pursued the dominant goal of a comprehensive educational program, the dynamics in the organization released the latent goal of control. The pursuit of the latent goal of control resulted in the phenomenon of goal proliferation. The Resources-Symptom-Inference approach utilized in this study was submitted as a methodology in determining the real goals in state departments of education.